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ABSTRACT

This is the fifth of eight volumes consisting of series of publications of the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults (CSLEA), such as Notes and Essays, Research Reports, Occasional Papers, and Conference Reports. These materials provide both theory and practice in the area of non-credit adult liberal education offered by colleges and universities. This volume contains eight issues in the CSLEA Research Report Series from 1961-65. Titles include (1) Research Arrangements within University Adult Education Divisions, (2) A Conspectus to the Self-Study Project of University College, The University of Chicago, (3) Metroplex Assembly: An Experiment in Community Education, (4) A Comparison of the Effectiveness of Adult Residential and Non-residential Learning Situations, (5) The Development of the University Evening Colleges: As Observed in Ten Urban Universities, (6) New Perspectives in University Correspondence Study, (7) Evaluating Liberal Adult Education, and (8) The Continuing Learner (4 papers). (YLB)

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HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES OF CSLEA

Volume 5

Reports Series: 1961-1965

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Preface

In the two decades following World War II there was a surge of movement in the field of adult education. Among the exciting developments was the interest in liberal adult education which was encouraged and substantially supported by the Fund for Adult Education. The F.A.E. in return provided leadership and financial support to the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults. The primary concern of CSLEA was to provide leadership and specific assistance by resources to colleges and universities to assist them in developing non credit programs in the area of liberal education for adults. During the period the staff initiated and often conducted many seminars and workshops. They also provided consultative services to colleges and universities as they developed programs in liberal education for adults.

Another contribution was the publication of series such as Notes & Essays, Reports, and Occasional Papers. The publications are generally accepted by educators of adults -- nationally and internationally -- as being some of the finest in terms of both theory and practice.

Many publications are now out-of-print and indeed in some cases even our copy is difficult to locate. The requests for copies of CSLEA and other statements are frequently received. Accordingly copies of these documents have been collected and compiled into several volumes. A copy of each volume is being sent to ERIC for their distribution. In this way these valuable publications may be made available to practitioners as well as researchers in adult and continuing education.

Mr. Ralph Brockett and Mrs. B. J. Vaughn have been particularly helpful and diligent in preparing these volumes.

Alexander N. Charters

May, 1980

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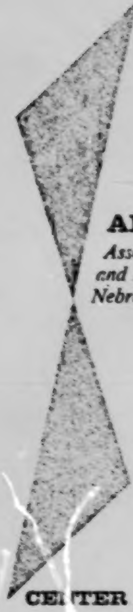

Research Arrangements Within University Adult Education Divisions

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HE CENTER *for the* STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS was established in 1951 by a grant from the Fund for Adult Education to work with universities seeking to initiate or improve programs of liberal education for adults. The purpose of the Center is "to help American higher education develop greater effectiveness and a deeper sense of responsibility for the liberal education of adults." Communications may be addressed to the Director, 4819 Greenwood Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois.

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PREFACE

The investigation reported here began with the assumption that the production of research is related to the administrative frameworks which support it. Therefore, the present sparse state of ongoing university adult education research may be partially due to the fact that few universities have special administrative arrangements set up for adult education research, and that some of those with such arrangements may not have the most appropriate arrangement for their particular conditions. A survey was made, attempting to determine the number and variety of arrangements for research actually in existence. A number of different types were found, each effective under appropriate circumstances. It is hoped that these arrangement types may be found applicable or adaptable to other university settings, or that their presentation here may help stimulate the development of new arrangements, perhaps more suitable to the needs of particular institutions.

This survey was initiated and conducted with the encouragement, cooperation, and assistance of the Research Committee of the National University Extension Association, the Research Committee of the Association of University Evening Colleges, the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, and the National Seminar on Adult Education Research. The efforts of all concerned will have been repaid if the results enable some adult education deans more effectively to establish or to expand research arrangements within their institutions.

Daniel Solomon
Research Associate
Center for the Study of Liberal
Education for Adults
July, 1963

INTRODUCTION

Over the past fifty years, university adult education divisions have been primarily concerned with teaching adults.[1] During the same period, the emphasis by adult education divisions on research has been light compared with the heavy research orientation of other colleges and divisions within most universities. Nevertheless, it has been apparent in the past five or six years that the amount of adult education research has increased substantially. The recent increase in the amount of adult education research can be noted by observing publication dates of the research reported in Brunner's Overview of Adult Education Research, the annual review of research section in the summer issues of Adult Education, the issues of the Review of Educational Research devoted to adult education, and the Handbook of Adult Education, edited by Knowles.[2]

There have been many factors that have helped to produce the recent increase in the amount of adult education research. Among those factors that appear to have been most influential are the general increase in social science research in universities since World War II; the increased interest in the field of adult education by several foundations; the availability of federal funds for educational research through the Cooperative Research Branch of the U. S. Office of Education; the increasing number of university adult educators with graduate work in the field of adult education; and the efforts of adult education researchers to encourage more research. One additional factor is the development of arrangements by university adult education divisions for encouraging and conducting research relevant to the field of adult education. It is the purpose of this report to describe the arrangements that university adult education divisions have established during the period between the summer of 1957 and the summer of 1962. With a better understanding of the types of research arrangements that have been established, adult education deans and directors should be in a better position to establish or expand arrangements for adult education research within their own institutions.

RESEARCH ARRANGEMENTS

There are a variety of approaches to conducting research. This report presents no ideal type; it describes a variety of approaches assuming that each university adult education division dean will develop research arrangements designed to be most effective in his situation. Before reporting the results of the study, several illustrative cases are presented. Each brief case is a composite of arrangements found at several universities having similar adult education research programs.

Alpha University, located in a large city, had a day enrollment of about 6,000 students, and an evening enrollment of about 4,000. Four years ago, the new dean talked with his staff and faculty members from the college of education and the social sciences divisions, regarding research related to educational methods for adults, educational counseling services for adults, appraisal of adult needs for liberal education, and relative effectiveness of various methods for interpreting programs to the community. As a result, the dean encouraged research related to adult education, in hopes that some of the findings might be useful to him and to his staff.

He talked with the director of the bureau of educational research, in the college of education, about potential adult education research topics. The director assured him that he would suggest these topics to faculty and graduate students, and would seek funds for interested persons.

He also arranged for a graduate student from the sociology department to study mass communications and personal influence as they affect decisions of adults to participate in educational programs. The graduate student did so under a one year research assistantship established as a line item in the adult education division budget.

He established a research committee in the division, consisting of three men from social sciences and education, along with two staff members from the division. The purpose of the committee was to advise the dean regarding needed research related to adult education and to develop plans to encourage support and initiation of such research.

The research committee of the division met periodically for a year and a half and recommended three adult education topics as needing research. These recommendations were conveyed to the director of the bureau of educational research. A faculty member in the department of educational psychology prepared a research proposal; a research grant was obtained from the office of Naval Research.This committee has also served in an advisory capacity to the graduate student in sociology who was a research assistant in the division during the past year. His research report has been useful in aiding the division to alter its program promotion practices for the coming year. The research assistant has also, with the advice of the research committee members, worked with one of the division staff members on evaluation of several new non-credit programs.

Beta University, a small municipal university with a day enrollment of 3,000 students and an evening enrollment of 4,000, had drawn most of its adult education division administrative staff from the regular faculty. Many were from departments in education and the social sciences. Most of the faculty performed well as program administrators and counselors, but there was a relatively rapid turnover as division administrative staff returned to teaching departments and were then replaced by other colleagues on the faculty. One of the reasons for this turnover was the lack of opportunities for research and publication. Five years ago, the university, including the adult education division, converted to automated data processing for registration procedures. The dean used this as an opportunity to establish arrangements related to adult education research, designed in part to encourage the retention of effective administrative staff in the division.

A plan was established for the systematic reporting of program data, using data processing equipment and procedures. Adult education division enrollees registered by filling out an IBM punch card. Twenty background characteristics dealing with variables such as educational history, age, sex, course enrollment, reason for attending, and residence location were also coded and punched into each card. After registration, the cards were used for course rosters, and for a summary report of the characteristics of adults attending the division that semester. The report was sub-divided by subject matter areas and was sent to faculty teaching courses in the division. Those who were interested in a similar tabulation for their course could arrange to have this prepared by the university data processing department.

In the hope of suggesting research ideas which might yield findings relevant to the adult education division, copies of the detailed enrollment report were sent to selected research oriented faculty not currently teaching in the division. The dean hoped through casual means, to encourage faculty to engage in research related to adult education.

A policy was established for faculty serving as administrative staff in the division to obtain released time for research related to adult education. Staff members with research grants had their loads in the division reduced by the amount covered by the grant. In addition, staff were able to arrange for released time (one semester each six years or half time for a semester each three years) for unsupported research.

Gamma University, one of the largest universities in the country, with an enrollment of more than 15,000 full time students, had a large multi-format adult education division, with a budget that exceeded two million dollars a year. The adult education division staff was large, but only a few had doctorates or were interested in research. During a series of staff meetings devoted to appraisal of division programs, there was consensus regarding a variety of problems, some of which called for research. The dean placed more emphasis on research within the division. There was an established university policy providing funds for summer research grants. The dean's first move was to visit with some of the division staff and with some other interested faculty, concerning the research ideas that had been identified. As a result, a division staff member and a faculty member from the psychology department received a summer research grant. The results from this collaborative effort encouraged the dean to extend the research arrangements connected with the division. During the next national meeting of adult education deans, he visited with five or six of his colleagues from other institutions which conducted adult education research. He visited some of the other deans and persons in the central administration, concerning the variety of arrangements that other adult education divisions had established to encourage research. Two division staff meetings were devoted to a discussion of long-range plans for encouraging and conducting adult education research, and using the findings. During the following year, the division budget included funds for research. At the budget review session, in defending the inclusion of the research item in the budget, the dean indicated that in recent years many companies with a budget the size of the divisions' devoted a percentage to research and development. The comptroller and the academic vice-president were evidently convinced. The research funds were used as seed money to initiate pilot projects as a basis for developing formal research proposals to foundations and other agencies that make grants for research.

Delta University, a moderately large institution with a multi-purpose adult education division, included no unit dealing with educational or social science research. Faculty sought and administered their own research projects. During the decade following World War II, the adult education division conducted several studies dealing with aspects of their program, and three graduate students wrote their doctoral dissertations on adult education topics. A decision to expand and reorganize the adult education division, encouraged discussion about emphasis on research and evaluation. The idea remained at the talking stage until the professor of adult education received from the cooperative research branch of the U. S. Office of Education, a substantial grant for a research project on education of older adults. An adult educator just finishing his doctorate in adult education at another university was added to the staff as a research associate on the project. During the following year a department of adult education research was formed in the adult education division. Its general purpose was to encourage and conduct research related to adult education and to serve in a consultative role regarding evaluation of adult education programs. In a memo urging the establishment of a department of adult education research, this dual research and evaluation function was described in this way: Evaluation of adult education programs should share with research in the behavioral sciences many of the same methods of inquiry, but require less concern for a theoretical framework and for the ability to generalize to other people and situations. The results of evaluation should be used directly to improve the process being evaluated.

In a report covering the first four years of the research department, its benefits to the adult education division were listed as follows:

1. contribution to the development of research proposals on adult education topics, by persons connected with the division and other departments;

2. administration of adult education research projects, supported by funds obtained by persons connected with the department;
3. encouragement of research-oriented faculty members who have little contact with the division, to become interested in research related to adult education;
4. bringing division staff members together with the professor of adult education and other faculty in research and study;
5. interpretation and application of findings to specific problem areas confronted within the division;
6. consultation with division staff, other faculty, and graduate students, on questions related to adult education;
7. compilation of knowledge on research and evaluation methods that can enable persons to work in a consultative role with program administrators and faculty interested in evaluating their own programs.

Epsilon University, a small institution with a long history of adult education programs, established an adult education division after World War I. A small division, it was administered by a professional staff of three. For years, the staff members discussed the importance of initiating adult education research, but the only research projects accomplished were a modest clientele analysis and a dissertation on the relative abilities and achievement of full time and part time students. This was conducted by the counselor in the division, as part of his doctoral program. Three years ago, Epsilon University began a year long self-study in preparation for a visitation by an accreditation team from the regional accrediting association. The dean of the division decided that this was an opportunity to explore some researchable questions that they had been discussing. Several small studies were conducted. Following the accreditation visit, the staff altered its approach to the encouragement of adult education research. Relatively inexperienced in conducting research and limited in time, they encouraged faculty in relevant departments, along with their graduate students, to pursue research related to adult education. The dean visited briefly with four or five of his counterparts at universities that had conducted adult education research, for ideas. The dean's summary follows:

University Administration

The administrative officers within the university who have general responsibility for research constitute a potential source of ideas and encouragement regarding adult education research. Persons in this category may have titles such as vice president for research, director of research institute, or assistant dean for research, in various colleges. In addition, assistant deans or college representatives for continuing education may be valuable allies in the encouragement of research related to adult education. One important contribution that these university administrators can make is to aid in the development of the total research plan including suggestions regarding who within the university might be helpful in preparing a research proposal, and where to seek potential sources of research funds.

University Research Units

Many universities have established one or more units to administer research funds and projects. Some of these units are university-wide such as a research institute. Others are connected with individual colleges, such as a bureau of educational research, bureau of business research, college of agriculture experiment station, school study council, or an office of adult education research. Administrators of such units can be helpful with the specifics of deciding on a source of funds, preparing a proposal, contacting researchers, preparing a budget, and helping to identify human and physical resources for research at the University.

Service Units

Universities frequently include several units that are neither concerned with teaching students nor conducting research within established disciplines. They can be useful to the person interested in adult education research. These units carry such titles as Institutional Research, Evaluation Services, Tests Laboratory, Audio-Visual Services, Instructional Services, Reading Clinic, or Psychological Clinic. Persons connected with such units can be helpful when the topic of a proposed adult education research project is closely related to their specific interest, but are especially valuable when it comes to selecting or developing the tests or instruments to be used to assess major variables in a study.

Subject Matter Departments

Almost every university department can contribute to research related to adult education. However, several departments are frequently involved: educational psychology and sociology were most frequent, with educational admininstration, business administration, statistics, political science, psychology, and rural sociology also involved. Faculty members and graduate students in these departments, as they become interested in research topics related to adult education, represent perhaps the greatest resource for adult education research.

Physical Resources

Technological change is in few areas as dramatic in its impact as in research in the behavioral sciences. The advent of computers and automated data-processing procedures and equipment has encouraged new and more sophisticated methods of analysis. Most universities now have at least one computer and often several statistics laboratories and data-processing departments. There is usually a central computing center for the total university, with smaller collections of data-processing equipment located throughout the university in connection with individual colleges and departments, including the university business office. For many adult education research projects, access to a key punch and sorter for IBM cards can make a substantial contribution. An increasing number of persons in universities are becoming familiar with computers and other data-processing equipment.

SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

Description

This study is concerned with arrangements during the past five years within adult education divisions connected with one or both of two national associations for college and university adult education divisions. The units of colleges or universities that provide adult education are known variously as Extension Division, Extension Service, University College, College of Adult Education, or Center for Continuing Education. In this study these terms are treated as inter-changeable labels. The research arrangements that were examined included any effort by a university adult education division to encourage, support, or conduct research relevant to adult education. Research was defined broadly. This report does not attempt to describe the content of the research—only the arrangements. All studies that were reported as research by the persons completing the questionnaires were tabulated in this summary, even though many might be classified as status studies under a more rigorous definition.

It should be emphasized that the purpose of the study was to discover the role played by adult education administrators. Therefore, the survey was limited to those arrangements that directly involved the adult education division. This means that research related to adult education has been excluded, if the project had no connection with the adult education division.

A comparison of institutions from which questionnaires were returned with institutions from which they were not, is presented in Appendix I. Appendix II contains a comparison of institutions reporting adult education research arrangements with those reporting none.

General Characteristics of Research Arrangements Reported

One of the conclusions regarding institutional characteristics that was drawn from a comparison of the divisions reporting research arrangements with those reporting none, was that arrangements for research were fairly widespread among university adult education divisions. With the exception of programs involving a highly specialized or limited range of subject matter, research arrangements were reported by at least one division in each of the major categories of the variables examined. We found no institutional characteristics that precluded establishment of adult education research.

Six out of ten of the adult education divisions surveyed returned a completed questionnaire. One-third of the divisions returning a questionnaire reported research arrangements. If we assume that the divisions not returning questionnaires had established no research arrangements, then considering the 40 adult education divisions that reported arrangements, it would be safe to conclude that at least one out of five university adult education divisions in the United States had established some arrangements for adult education research during the past five years.

What are the characteristics of these research arrangements? The answer is exceedingly complex because current practice varies so greatly. A general summary is provided by the following overview.

There was a strong tendency for those divisions that reported any research arrangements to refer to more than one research effort during the previous five years. Less than one-quarter reported only one separate research effort. More than one-quarter reported five or more research efforts in the previous five years. In general, either an adult education division reported no research efforts in the previous five years, or they reported two or more.

There was substantial variety in the problems that were investigated by the adult education research studies. Table 1 presents a tabulation of the number of studies of each type that were reported.

Forty university adult education divisions reported a total of 82 research efforts during the five year period ending in the summer of 1962. For more than half of the institutions, at least one of the efforts was a clientele analysis.

Within those divisions reporting research arrangements, most of the research efforts began within the previous five years. Half of the research arrangements were established within the previous two years. In only one-fifth of the divisions had the arrangements begun six or more years before.

It would appear that most of these research efforts have been estab-

TABLE 1

TOPICS OF ADULT EDUCATION RESEARCH

Number of studies	Types of research topics
25	Clientele analysis
7	Program development
7	Evaluation
7	Comparison of day and evening students
4	Drop outs
4	Adult learning
4	Community development
3	Self-study
3	Methods of teaching adults
3	Community leadership
2	In-service education
2	Counseling
2	Manpower survey
1	Publicity
1	Materials
1	Graduate study for adult educators
1	Finances
1	Academic regulations
1	Participation of adults
1	Motivation
1	Teaching of adults
1	Multiple section study (achievement, drop out, characteristics, needs, interests of adult students)
Total 82	

lished on the initiative of the adult education divisions. Almost three-quarters of the institutions reporting research arrangements indicated that the adult education staff had taken the initiative. In the remaining instances the initiative for specific studies was taken by university faculty, outside agencies, or graduate students.

This concentration of responsibility for research associated with the adult education division was also indicated by the responses to questions concerning sponsorship and financing of research. More than one-third of the projects reported were sponsored entirely by the adult education division, another third was sponsored jointly with an academic department of the university, and the remaining third involved co-sponsorship by an agency outside the university.

More than one-third of the research projects were financed entirely by the adult education division, one-quarter were financed jointly by the division and a foundation or government agency and the remainder were financed entirely by other departments or agencies. Of the research projects that were financed in any degree by the adult education division, half were financed entirely by the division, more than one-quarter were financed almost entirely by the division and for less than one in ten did the division contribute less than one-quarter of the funds.

The annual expenditures for adult education research arrangements ranged from less than $500 to more than $25,000. Half of the adult education divisions reporting research arrangements indicated an average annual expenditure for research of less than $1,000. One in six institutions reported spending more than $25,000 a year for adult education research. The amount spent on research varied in terms of source of financing. The average annual expenditure for research sponsored and financed by the adult education divisions averaged approximately $1,000, while expenditures for research financed primarily by units outside the adult education division averaged approximately $16,000. Nine of the reporting universities might be characterized as having established any major arrangements to encourage or conduct adult education research entailing a continuing commitment of more than $4,000 annually.

Some of the more frequently reported continuing arrangements for adult education research were 1) obtain a foundation or other research grant for an adult education staff member and/or faculty member to conduct a research project; 2) arrange for a graduate student to do a research project using the adult education setting; 3) establish an adult education research committee consisting of both faculty and division staff members; 4) provide funds for a research assistant; and 5) cooperate with the university research bureau.

Those reporting on the research arrangements within their division were moderately satisfied with their present arrangements. In only one division were the research arrangements described as less than effective. However, one-third indicated that they were planning different arrangements for the future.

Benefits and Drawbacks

There was substantial agreement regarding one major benefit and one major drawback of current research arrangements. The frequently mentioned benefit of current research arrangements was the direct contribution that research findings made to program planning and evaluation. The frequently mentioned shortcoming was the lack of adequate staff, time, and money to encourage and conduct research.

Other benefits and drawbacks listed below were each mentioned by only one or two persons.

Benefits

1. Research findings contribute to the general improvement of adult education.
2. Research arrangements have provided opportunities for professional growth for adult education staff who engage in research.
3. The quality of dissertation research projects in adult education has been generally excellent.
4. Research undertaken entirely by the adult education division has permitted independent determination of research purposes, procedures, and uses.
5. Research findings have contributed to the establishment of new goals for the division.
6. Research findings have provided useful information about present and potential users of services of the division.
7. Analysis of clientele furnished information which led to a complete revision of the program of the division.
8. Arrangements for adult education research have provided a means for contact with research-oriented faculty, many of whom have little other contact with the division.
9. A full time researcher has contributed greatly to effective program planning.
10. Research arrangements provide experience for division staff in research methods.
11. Research findings help solve educational problems and produce information for dissemination.
12. Studies connected with the division have helped attract able researchers.
13. Research findings have helped make "visible" the range, effectiveness, and contribution of various departments.
14. The division gained status and stability from its self study.
15. Research arrangements have contributed to the development

of interest in research by the faculty.

16. Research findings helped in the establishment of new services.
17. Research findings helped justify budget requests.

The foregoing list includes both benefits of specific research projects and benefits of an entire research program of a division. Variations in importance of the benefits are also represented. The list also conveys the types of returns that university adult educators have recognized as resulting from their investment in research. However, any specific arrangement to encourage or conduct adult education research might be expected to have some shortcomings. As was mentioned earlier, the most frequently mentioned drawback to current research arrangements was lack of adequate staff, time, and money. In addition, the following drawbacks of a current research arrangement were each mentioned by one or two persons.

Drawbacks

1. Research efforts have not been a day-to-day activity in the ongoing programs in the division.
2. There has been a lack of personnel qualified to carry on valid research.
3. Dissertation research hasn't given the division the cumulative effect possible with a well financed, integrated research program.
4. It has been difficult to obtain full cooperation by faculty and students in adult education classes for research that requires extensive use of class time.
5. There has been a lack of permanency of the special staff hired.
6. Researchers assigned to the division have been of questionable competency.
7. The dean has been unable to stimulate division staff members to initiate worthwhile projects.
8. For analysis of student characteristics, the division could profitably use the data earlier in the semester than the university data processing office can supply it.

IMPLICATIONS

An examination of the barriers and benefits, reported by the respondents, revealed one striking fact. When the division conducted its own research, one distinctive set of drawbacks and benefits appeared. If the division encouraged others to undertake the research, a distinctively different set of advantages and disadvantages was listed. This seems to imply that the adult education dean cannot plan a research program merely by a study of obstacles or benefits. They must be considered, but the crucial question comes, what arrangements are most effective for each university adult education division?

The answer to this question will vary considerably. In arriving at a decision the dean might profitably consider three questions. 1) What should be the purpose of adult education research arrangements connected with his division? 2) What are the attitudes and current practices regarding adult education research within his division and the university? and 3) What is the range of research arrangements which will be most effective to achieve his purposes in his setting? It is the primary purpose of this report to deal with the third question, but we shall also deal with the first two.

Purposes of Research Arrangements

Adult education research connected with university adult education divisions might serve any of a variety of purposes. Some were mentioned by adult educators when they described the major benefits of their current research arrangements. The purpose for research in a particular division will be influenced substantially by the attitudes and practices relative to research in that division and university. In the process of deciding whether or not to establish research arrangements, and if so, what their purpose should be, an educator may consider the following as potential general purposes of research.

1. To provide an efficient means for collecting information that can contribute to increasing the effectiveness (e.g., learning,

teaching, promotion, administration, counseling) of the ongoing programs in the division.

2. To help identify new objectives to be sought and new audiences to be reached by the division.
3. To add to the accumulation of research findings that can contribute to the solution of general problems in adult education.
4. To provide opportunities for research related in-service education for professional staff, within the adult education division.
5. To establish a point of common interest between staff in the division and highly research-oriented faculty within the university, many of whom may have little other contact with the division.
6. To attract to the adult education division, new staff who might be more interested if there were opportunities for research directly connected with their position.

The list of potential purposes is not complete and is not in order of importance. It merely suggests the purposes that an adult education dean might consider regarding the establishment or development of research arrangements.

The Institutional Setting

Having decided on purposes, it is possible to turn to an examination of the local institutional setting, with its propensities to encourage or hinder research. What are the major barriers within the division and the university to the development of research arrangements? What factors in the local situation would be expected to facilitate the development of research? In establishing research arrangements that will achieve the stated purpose, what plan would encourage the facilitating factors and minimize the barriers most efficiently?

The barriers will vary somewhat from one situation to another. Some were referred to by adult educators along with the drawbacks. Listed below are some of the more frequent barriers to adult education research arrangements that would need to be overcome or avoided by a dean.

1. Lack of money in the division budget to provide for staff time for research.
2. Lack of commitment to the relative importance of adult educa-

tion research by persons deciding on budget allocations for the division.

3. Lack of qualified researchers interested in questions related to adult education.
4. Lack of interest and/or knowledge regarding adult education research by adult education staff.
5. Image, in the minds of the remainder of the university, of the adult education division as an administrative or teaching unit of the university rather than one appropriately concerned with research.

The foregoing illustrate some barriers. There are, however, factors in most university situations that facilitate the establishment of adult education research. Listed below are some frequent examples of these facilitators.

1. Evidence of the usefulness of prior adult education research.
2. Availability of funds from foundations and government agencies for educational research projects.
3. The heavy research orientation of the faculty in most universities.
4. The interest by faculty and graduate student researchers in dealing with research problems related to adults (rather than college sophomores, sixth graders, or rats).
5. Increasing availability, at most universities, of research support facilities (i.e., computer, data processing department, and survey research center).
6. Commitment by the adult education dean to research connected with the division.
7. At least one person connected with the division with substantial interest in and knowledge about adult education research.
8. Increasing recognition, within the field of adult education, of the importance of adult education research.
9. Increasingly available reviews of adult education research in sources such as the Review of Educational Research, the summer issues of Adult Education, Brunner's Overview of Adult Education Research, Knowles' Handbook of Adult Education, and sets of abstracts prepared by individual researchers.
10. Opportunities for discussion of adult education research ideas,

plans, and findings with interested persons connected with adult education research oriented groups such as the research committees of AUEC and NUEA, the commission on Research of AEA, the American Educational Research Association, the Commission of the Professors of Adult Education, the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, and the National Seminar on Adult Education Research.

Types of Research Arrangements

An adult education dean or director, after considering these purposes, barriers, and facilitators may next proceed to develop research arrangements that will be most effective for his institution. In doing so, what types of arrangements might be considered? The following section describes briefly examples of several types of research arrangements. The examples were drawn from those described in the questionnaire responses. Four types of illustrative arrangements are described.

Type I arrangements were those initiated and conducted primarily within the division. Type Ia were modest arrangements regarding financial commitment. Type Ib represented a major financial commitment.

Type II arrangements were encouraged by the division but were conducted jointly with persons or units of the university outside the division. Type IIa were modest; type IIb were major. Schematically these four types of research arrangements are presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2
ILLUSTRATIVE TYPES OF
RESEARCH ARRANGEMENTS

		Financial commitment	
		Modest	Major
Major Responsibility	Internal	Ia	Ib
	Shared	IIa	IIb

There are additional and more detailed categories that might be established but these four should serve to illustrate some of the major characteristics. The description within each category is a composite, incorporating the characteristics common to several institutional arrangements.

Type Ia, Internal-modest

Research arrangements of Type Ia were initiated, conducted, and financed almost entirely within the adult education division. The research was conducted by full time administrators within the division, most of it on their own time. There were some instances of cooperation or consultation by interested faculty. The average annual expenditure for adult education research was typically less than $500, exclusive of staff time and overhead. There was usually substantial commitment to the importance of adult education research by at least one staff member, and in many instances he held a doctorate in a relevant subject area. However, the circumstances tended to assure that, even though the research arrangements were continuing, they were limited in scope and slow in completion. Many findings have never been published. In a number of instances as many as two or three projects were completed during the five year period. About half of the divisions reporting research arrangements could be classified as Ia; most of these were somewhat smaller in size.

Type Ib, Internal-major

Research arrangements of Type Ib were initiated, conducted, and financed by an office of adult education research within the division, under the direction of a full time researcher. In addition to his primary responsibility for conducting a variety of research projects, the researcher devoted part of his energies to the encouragement of others to engage in research relevant to adult education. His activities included consulting with faculty on relevant research interests, program evaluation, sending research related materials to appropriate faculty and staff, seeking and administering funds for graduate student and faculty research, and arranging for interested faculty to transfer part of their academic load to an adult education research project in which they were interested. Divisions reporting this arrangement conducted the largest number of research projects per year, although many were modest in scale. Frequently, research and evaluation funds were budgeted within other grants and programs. The annual total expenditures for research tended to be around $30,000, when taking into account the researcher's salary, office space, secretarial help, office expense, materials, data collection, and analyses costs. Funds were derived from both the division and from government and foundation grants. The divisions reporting research arrangement Ib were large, but not the largest in the country, and had annual budgets exceeding a million dollars. The adult educator reporting for one of these institutions commented that, for an operation of that size it seemed appropriate to devote a portion of the annual budget to research and development. Less than one in ten of the divisions reporting research arrangements described this type; it was the least frequently reported arrangement.

Type IIa, Shared-modest

Adult education research arrangements of Type IIa were largely financed and administered by a unit of the university other than the adult education division, although the initiative and encouragement usually came from the division. These institutions usually had an office of institutional research, or a counseling service with a research function, or an educational research bureau. The study that was reported had often been financed by the university (a division other than adult education) or a leave of absence had been arranged for an adult education staff member to conduct the study. The annual research expenditure by the division was usually less than $500. Often, the research project developed because there was a point of common interest between the adult education division and some other unit of the university. These institutions reporting arrangement Type IIa usually indicated that they were hoping for a research grant from a foundation or government agency. About three out of ten of the divisions reporting recent research described this type of arrangement.

Type IIb, Shared-major

The characteristics that distinguished this arrangement from the Internal-major arrangement were its size and diversity. The universities and their adult education divisions were among the largest in the country. The annual budgets for research were around $50,000, with about half from division funds and the remainder from a variety of sources such as a university research council or institute, a cooperative research grant, foundation grants, or grants from business and industry. Although in most instances the division took the initiative in encouraging adult education research that was not internally conducted, there were other persons or units of the university interested (e.g., professor of adult education, professor of psychology interested in aging or adult learning, professor of sociology interested in group dynamics or community development, industrial relations center, human relations center, or a survey research center). Often a project was initiated when someone from the division and someone from an academic department talked with each other about a research idea of common interest. However, in most instances when the adult education division and an academic department cooperated on a project, the division paid all of the department's costs. Research was usually a regular budget item in the division. With the variety of adult education research activities, it was not surprising that emphasis was placed on an adult education research committee including both faculty and division staff. Almost one in ten divisions reporting research described this type of arrangement.

SUMMARY

During the summer of 1962, questionnaires concerning arrangements for encouraging adult education research were sent to all university adult education divisions connected with the NUEA and/or AUEC. Sixty per cent of the questionnaires were completed and returned. In general, the characteristics of the institutions that returned questionnaires did not vary significantly from those that did not, but there was a somewhat higher percentage of return from the larger adult education programs. Research arrangements were defined as any unilateral or collaborative effort by a university adult education division to encourage, support, or conduct research relevant to adult education. Research was defined broadly.

The establishment of research arrangements did not appear to be related to region of the country, size of community in which the institution was located, research orientation of the university (controlling for size of institution), or type of financial support (except for the largest adult education programs). Adult education research arrangements were most frequently found in the larger universities, in adult education divisions that were characterized by large enrollments, several geographical locations, diversified subject matter offerings, a variety of education formats, and substantial influence on institutional policies regarding adult education. However, the existence of arrangements for adult education research in all types of divisions indicated that research arrangements can be established within any division and that much depends upon the interests and commitments of staff members.

About one-quarter of the adult education divisions had research arrangements and reported an average of two projects during the previous five years. The problems with which the research dealt varied greatly but there was substantial emphasis on clientele analysis. The scope and objectives of specific research projects depended primarily upon the interests of the division. The annual research expenditures, within the divisions reporting research arrangements, ranged from less than $500 to more than $50,000. The average annual expenditures for divisions who financed the research arrangements internally was about $1,000. The average for divisions that had received outside financing was about $16,000.

The adult educators responding to the questionnaire identified a variety of benefits and shortcomings of their existing research arrangements. The most frequently mentioned benefit was the contribution that research findings made to program planning. The most frequently mentioned shortcoming was lack of money to provide time and personnel for research.

In the process of considering how research arrangements within his division might be most effectively developed, an adult education dean might consider both the purposes that adult education research might serve, and the barriers and facilitators in his division and university that might influence his efforts to establish research arrangements. In doing so, the various types of existing arrangements should be considered.

CONCLUSION: A DEPARTMENT OF ADULT EDUCATION RESEARCH

This description and analysis of arrangements for encouraging adult education research has referred to the reasons why university adult education divisions should take initiative. It has also emphasized the arrangements that might be established. By way of epilogue, it may be helpful to consider relationships between adult education research and program development, to describe the way in which educators at a university might use the results of their research.

In accepting an obligation for continuing higher education for adult, part-time students, a university assumes a related responsibility for making certain that the resulting programs are both appropriate for adults and educationally well designed. However, this is no easy task. The ingredients of an outstanding educational experience are many, and difficult to control. This is true even in a program of resident instruction where the relatively constant student characteristics, slowly changing curriculum, and concentration of faculty and administrative attention on the question of quality education, contribute greatly to success.

For those engaged in adult education, the achievement of appropriate and well designed learning experiences is in some ways more difficult to accomplish. One barrier is the infrequent contact between teacher, student, and administrator. Conversely, one advantage of adult education is the range of possible settings. With the increased need for adult education, with resultant demands on the university's limited resources, it is well to explore ways to increase the impact of programs.

One way to concentrate our knowledge and skills related to research, evaluation, and relevant subject matter areas on problems of program design, might be to establish a department of adult education research, within the adult education division. The nature of such a unit, hereafter referred to as D.A.E.R., is described below.

Four general and interrelated purposes would guide D.A.E.R. First, persons connected with D.A.E.R. would serve in a consultative capacity, providing an opportunity for program administrators to refer the most difficult problems related to program design and evaluation. Second, D.A.E.R. would facilitate in-service education of program administrators by providing an opportunity to work with specialists in an aspect of program development either informally or on a released time basis. Third, D.A.E.R. would provide a vehicle within which to encourage both basic and applied research related to program development in adult education. Fourth, D.A.E.R. would provide a convenient unit within which to attract and administer funds, establish working relationships between staff, assign research, and development time of staff, and develop program and evaluation materials. All four of these functions would be available both to adult educators connected with a university and to adult educators connected with other agencies.

D.A.E.R. might include some combination of the following or similar functions. This section suggests briefly how the general purposes would be achieved. In practice, these functions would be closely interrelated. They are described separately for sake of clarity.

Consultation

An adult education program administrator or faculty program chairman, when faced with a particularly difficult problem of program design or evaluation, might refer the problem to D.A.E.R. for consultation and advice. Depending on the administrator's interest, he might work closely with D.A.E.R. program development consultants in developing the plan or might limit his participation to explanation of the problem and exploring the meaning of the finished plan. D.A.E.R. would also be available to help in the preparation of program evaluation and research proposals. The consultants, in the process of developing the plans, would engage the services of the relevant faculty specialists regarding both content and method. It is assumed that university faculty would participate extensively. The consultant's contact with the plan might end with its transmittal to the program administrator or might continue through a preliminary trial of the program or some aspect of it. The usefulness of D.A.E.R. would be apparent when planning programs using two or more formats (class, self-study, conference, correspondence, T.V., etc.)

Collaboration

D.A.E.R. might be a means of bringing to specific relevant problems a concentration of the various contributions related to program development, which have been made by university specialists. It would also provide a means for attracting additional competence and resources. It might encourage related departments to add faculty resources, under a commitment to financial underwriting for several years, or arrange for short term consultant services by faculty from other universities. In addition, D.A.E.R. would provide a convenient means for collaboration on specific problems confronted by any one of the specialists.

In-Service Education

The teachers and program administrators now engaged in developing educational programs for adults have little or no formal preparation for such work, having for the most part drifted into the activity from some specialty. D.A.E.R. would provide an opportunity for one interested in increasing his competence in this area, to do so in a variety of ways. A professional might refer a program design or evaluation problem to D.A.E.R. and then observe the proposed plan that is prepared; work informally with a selected group of D.A.E.R. specialists on a programming problem; or spend a substantial amount of time working in D.A.E.R. on a variety of program design and evaluation problems (such as 1/4 time for a semester or one month in the summer, with a transfer of funds to make the major time commitment to D.A.E.R. workable within his own department).

Initiation

Adult education has been criticized on the grounds that it depends too much on requests from the community and exercises too little leadership in the development of needed educational programs. As persons connected with D.A.E.R. work with field studies and a variety of programs and offices, it would be possible to identify issues where a university might assume leadership in the field of adult education, and to suggest these to the appropriate program administrators.

Evaluation

D.A.E.R. would provide a single location where anyone interested in evaluation in adult education could refer a problem. It might provide the following types of services:

a. make available tests related to adult education

b. help in locating library resources on evaluation
c. have consultations with persons competent in evaluation theory and instrument development available to persons interested in developing their own procedures
d. supply technician services for item writing, pre-testing, data processing, and scoring
e. facilitate connections with faculty in various subject areas who had expressed interest in working on evaluation problems, and connections with evaluation experts at other universities
f. establish cooperative ventures with other universities, where it would be helpful to generalize beyond a single institution, and to develop standardized instruments or adult norms
g. supply evaluation services to ongoing adult education programs within the university

Field Studies

When an adult education program is proposed crucial information frequently is not available. D.A.E.R. might provide a means for conducting field studies to determine in some detail, the needs that a particular program might be designed to meet. Examples might include: a study of public decision making in selected communities as a basis for designing a seminar on community leadership for emerging leaders; a study of attitudes and practices of children's court judges related to juvenile delinquency, in preparation for a conference of children's court judges; or a study of practices and attitudes of retail nurserymen (and of their customers) in preparation for a workshop on merchandising for nurserymen. The same staff and procedures might also be used for follow-up on an adult education program to determine if the program resulted in changed practices. Again, D.A.E.R. staff would be available on a consultative basis to persons engaged in adult education interested in conducting field studies.

Program Studies

There are major variables related to the learning situation that we only dimly understand. Examples include teaching style, participant selection and grouping, and small group behavior in adult learning situations. D.A.E.R. might encourage basic and applied research related to these major variables. For example, an experimental laboratory for small group research might be developed, or, opportunities for observing adult discussion groups might be established. Faculty from departments interested in small group behavior and staff from D.A.E.R. might then determine if a mutual interest existed. Also, persons engaged in adult education who were interested in small group behavior might approach a faculty member with this interest to determine if he would engage in the relevant study. D.A.E.R. might then serve as a means of financing and conducting the study. Similar arrangements might be established for other major variables. Again, consultative help would be available to persons interested in conducting their own program studies.

Materials Development

The cost of developing an effective set of reading and audio-visual materials for an adult education program is relatively great. The result is seldom either efficiently accomplished or satisfactory. However, there is no reason why each university should attempt this development for itself. Costs of textbooks would more than double if each university produced all of its own, and quality would probably drop. D.A.E.R. would provide a basis for materials development, where faculty from various universities might collaborate on the development of the materials, and where many universities might purchase and use the resulting materials.

Graduate Study

Persons in adult education pursuing graduate study at a university might gain a great deal from both informal and formal contacts with D.A.E.R. Graduate assistantships could be established within D.A.E.R. The foregoing description of a Department of Adult Education Research (D.A.E.R.) of course represents only one approach. Many equally effective approaches might be made. The reason for presenting this example was to indicate how a major effort towards adult education research might be related to ongoing program development within a university adult education division.

What functions of the hypothetical D.A.E.R. are already being performed? What additional or similar functions would be most valuable?

Hopefully, this report has described arrangements through which to encourage, conduct, and use the findings of adult education research. There are many ways in which university adult education divisions might organize research arrangements. The purpose of this report has been to describe a variety of approaches, some of which might be adapted to any university adult education division.

APPENDIX I

Comparison of Institutions From Which Questionnaires Were Returned with Institutions From Which They Were Not

A six-page questionnaire was sent to the dean or director of all of the adult education divisions affiliated with the National University Extension Association and/or the Association of University Evening Colleges. The combined mailing list totaled about 200 institutions, with slightly more than half belonging only to AUEC, slightly more than one-quarter belonging only to NUEA, and slightly more than one-sixth belonging to both associations. Completed questionnaires were received from sixty per cent of the institutions on the combined mailing list. The distribution of memberships in either or both of the two associations for the forty per cent who did not return questionnaires was not significantly different from the distribution of association membership for the total list of institutions.

The institutions which returned questionnaires were compared regarding institutional characteristics with the institutions for which no questionnaires were returned. There was no significant difference between returners and non-returners in terms of region of the United States, size of community in which the university was located, faculty-student ratio for full time students, number of volumes in the university library, single campus location or several locations for administering and conducting adult education classes, course offerings of the division restricted to one or two subject matter areas (such as art or engineering) vs. a diversified offering of courses, and use of one or two formats (such as evening credit class, conference, or correspondence) vs. three or more formats. However, a significantly higher percentage of questionnaires were received from institutions having the following characteristics:

1. Evening class enrollment exceeding 6,000 persons (better than a 95 per cent return).

2. Enrollment of full time students exceeding 16,000 (75 per cent return).
3. State, land grant, or religious (70 per cent return).
4. There was also a significantly higher return from institutions with more than 12 professional administrative staff and for the adult education divisions classified by Carey in his AUEC-NUEA study (3), as in the most favorable situation regarding readiness to innovate.

In general, the institutions returning questionnaires were very similar to those on the total combined AUEC/NUEA list. However, a somewhat larger proportion of the state universities, having larger evening class enrollments and larger adult education administrative staff returned questionnaires than was the case for the remaining institutions. With this caution, it would seem warranted to generalize the most significant findings to the total population of university adult education divisions affiliated with AUEC and/or NUEA.

APPENDIX II

Comparison of Institutions Reporting Adult Education Research Arrangements with Those Reporting None

A general sense of the institutional characteristics that are associated with the existence of adult education research arrangements can be obtained by an examination of some of the characteristics that differentiate those with research arrangement from those without such arrangements. This is not to suggest that one or a combination of the characteristics that differentiate the two populations have influenced the establishment of research arrangements. The question regarding what circumstances tend to contribute to institutional innovation involves institutional change, and the question of institutional change is beyond the scope of the present study. To be able to make judgments it would be necessary to examine many additional variables not easily determined from responses to a mailed questionnaire. However, in an effort to describe the degree and type of research arrangements that had been established in university adult education divisions during the past five years, it would seem helpful to also note the characteristics of the university adult education divisions in which significantly more research arrangements had been established.

Region of Country

The adult education divisions were classified within eight regions of the continental United States, a ninth category of Hawaii and Alaska, and another category consisting primarily of Canadian institutions. An initial comparison was made of these nine regions based on the proportion of those returning the questionnaire that reported research arrangements. The proportion reporting research arrangements was lowest for Canada (less than one-fifth), higher for the Northeast and South (less than one-third) and highest for northern Midwest and western half of the country (almost half reporting research arrangements). However, because the likelihood that research arrangements were associated with the size of the adult education program, and because more of the smaller programs were located in the northeastern quarter of the United States, the comparison was again made while controlling for size of the adult education evening or extension class program. For those institutions with an adult education class enrollment at any one time of less than 3,000 students, there was no significant difference between geographic regions regarding the proportion of adult education divisions that reported research arrangements. For the larger programs, those in the northeastern quarter of the country (excluding New England) included a significantly higher proportion of those reporting research arrangements, than was the case for the remainder of regions. There was no significant difference between these remaining regions.

Community Size

There was no significant difference in the proportion of institutions reporting research arrangements that was associated with the size of the community in which the university was located. There was a slight tendency for the proportion to be somewhat lower for communities in the 100,000 to 1,000,000 population range but this was produced largely by the relationship between size of adult education program and likelihood of research arrangements.

Size of Institution

Reporting institutions were classified by number of full time students, as an indication of the size of the total university. For those institutions that enrolled less than 12,000 full time students, the proportion reporting research arrangements ranged from one-seventh for the small institutions to two-fifths for those approaching an enrollment of 12,000. For the institutions with a full time student enrollment exceeding 12,000, almost three-quarters reported adult education research arrangements. The fact that there was a higher questionnaire return rate for the larger institutions suggests that the positive relationship between research arrangements and institutional size may actually be even more pronounced, assuming that the institutions that did not return questionnaires were primarily those without research arrangements.

Institutional Research Orientation

Another institutional characteristic that might be related to the likelihood that an adult education division would establish research arrangements was the relative institutional emphasis on research. Although several more direct indicators of research orientation might have been obtained in a more detailed study, indirect indicators of research orientation were readily available for the institutions included in this study. These indirect indicators were faculty-student ratio and number of volumes in the university library. It was assumed that a small teaching load and a large library collection would be indicative of institutional research orientation. There was no significant difference between these institutions reporting research arrangements and those reporting none, regarding faculty-student ratio for full time students. There was a significant increase in the proportion of institutions reporting research arrangements as the size of the library increased. However, much of the positive relationship disappeared when size of institution was controlled.

Type of Financial Support

The institutions were also classified regarding type of financial support. The categories were state or land grant, municipal, private, and religious. For the total returned questionnaires, there were significantly more tax supported universities that reported research arrangements (almost half) than was the case for non-tax supported (about one-quarter). However, when controlling for size of the adult education program there was no significant difference associated with type of financial support for the adult education divisions enrolling less than 3,000 students. The divisions with larger adult education programs reported a higher proportion as having research arrangements with the largest proportion reported by the state universities (about two-thirds), followed by the non-tax supported (more than half reporting research arrangements).

Location of Adult Education Division

The responding adult education divisions were compared regarding the location of the administrative staff. The two categories of location were a single location (usually on campus) compared with several locations (other communities in the state). While about one-quarter of single location divisions reported research arrangements, more than half of the divisions with several locations did so. When controlling for size of adult education course enrollment, significantly more institutions with several locations still reported research arrangements.

Specialization of Content

Adult education divisions that offered courses in only one or two subject matter areas (such as art, engineering, business, or religion) were compared with the more frequent diversified offerings including courses from many colleges and departments. None of the institutions whose course offerings were classified as specialized reported research arrangements.

Educational Program Format

Divisions were classified according to whether they employed only one or two formats (credit-class, non-credit short course, etc.) or offered adult education opportunities through three or more formats. While one-third of those divisions using one or two formats reported research arrangements, one-half of those using three or more formats did so. For the smallest and the largest programs there was no significant difference between number of formats, regarding report of research arrangements. However, for the middle size programs, about two out of ten of the divisions using few formats reported research arrangements, compared with about six out of ten for the divisions using three or more formats.

Size of Adult Education Program

One of the variables used to indicate relative size of an adult education program was the number of persons enrolled in adult education classes during a typical fall semester. About one out of five of the institutions reporting enrolled less than 1,000 students while about one out of ten enrolled more than 6,000. The correlation between size of enrollment and reporting of research arrangements was high. A similar correlation existed between report of research arrangements and a second indicator of size of program—the number of full time professional adult education administrative staff members. For divisions with a class enrollment of less than 500, or with one administrator, about one out of eight reported research arrangements. For divisions with between 1,000 and 3,000 enrollment or between five and eight administrators, about one out of three reported research arrangements. For the larger divisions with a class enrollment of more than 6,000 or more than 12 administrators, about two out of three reported research arrangements. For the largest adult education divisions with more than 16 administrators (dean, assistant dean, program administrators, counselors), more than nine out of ten reported research arrangements. Of all of the institutional characteristics examined in this study, the size of the adult education program was the variable most highly correlated with the likelihood of reporting research arrangements. From further analysis of the relation between size of enrollment and size of staff, the relations between staff size and research arrangements was stronger than that between enrollment size and research arrangements. When controlling for staff size, the correlation between enrollment size and report of research arrangements disappeared. When controlling for enrollment size, the correlation between staff size and report of research arrangements persisted, especially for the larger enrollment institutions.

Institutional Influence of Division

A study of AUEC and NUEA divisions conducted by James Carey several years ago classified each institution within one of four categories. The categories constituted a continuum based on the investigator's judgment, which was in turn based on the research findings, regarding the degree to which each division was able effectively to influence institutional policies that affected the adult education program. A comparison of the relation between these four categories and report of research arrangements revealed a high correlation. About one out of four of the divisions classified in the least forceful category reported research arrangements, compared with one out of three, three out of four, and all of the divisions, in the three successively higher ranked categories regarding probable influence on institutional adult education policies.

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(2) An excellent listing of these and other sources of information related to adult education research is contained in the June 24, 1963, issue of "Continuing Education for Adults," published by the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 4819 S. Greenwood Ave., Chicago 15, Illinois. The section on research studies contains the following sources.

Adult Education
Summer issues since 1955 contain yearly listings of research studies. Spring issues have listings of adult education dissertations.

The American Educational Research Association. Encyclopedia of Educational Research. (Third Edition.) New York: Macmillan Company, 1960.
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CSLEA REPORTS

A Conspectus to the
Self-Study Project of University College
The University of Chicago

Edited by ROBERT M. ROTH

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FOREWORD

For many reasons the Center is pleased to publish A Conspectus to the Self-Study Project of University College, The University of Chicago.

In the first place because of its historic interest. The first part of the document provides a brief and inspiring report of the initial ideas, and dreams, of William Rainey Harper, the first president of the University of Chicago. Harper's words are not only important as history, but also could serve in 1965 as a mandate for universities to strengthen and improve their adult and community activities. He said (page 8):

> It is conceded by all that certain intellectual work among the people at large is desirable: those who believe in the wide diffusion of knowledge regard it as necessary. All are pleased to see that it is demanded. This work, while it must be in good sense popular, must also be systematic in form and scientific in spirit; and to be such it must be done under the direction of a university, by men who have scientific training. . . . The doing of the work by the university will (1) do much to break down the prejudice which so widely prevails against an educated aristocracy; (2) give to a greater constituency that which is their right and due; (3) establish influences from which much may be expected directly for the university; (4) bring inspiration to both professor and pupil in college and university; (5) bring the university into direct contact with human life and activity.

We also publish this Conspectus because the adult education program of the University of Chicago was looked upon then, as at many times in its history, as one of the outstanding university continuing education programs in the United States. A leader in the field, it acted as inspiration and as a model for many other programs which have developed and expanded since that time.

The Center, although not directly or officially involved in the self-study, was touched by it in a number of ways. Many of the staff members have taught at University College, and thus have a direct interest and a great respect for it. Individual staff members were unofficially involved in discussions and deliberations relating to the self-study, as well as in carrying out certain portions of it. We find the concept and the procedure of the self-study an important and challenging one, which fosters a greater degree of analysis of university adult education. We, therefore, are interested in publishing this report as a demonstration of how a self-study may serve as a method of continuing education for staff members in evening colleges and extension divisions.

Included among the important questions asked in the Chicago self-study are those relating to: the adult education division-faculty relations; university-community relations; relations between the department and its students; and the relationship between aptitudes and achievement of adult students, and those in the undergraduate college. All these are discussed in the framework of a general rationale for a continuing education program in a private university.

Although these problems are discussed and analyzed rather than answered, a sharper picture of the continuing education program and its operation emerges.

Two persons who were directly and significantly connected with the University College program at the University of Chicago, but whose names do not appear in the report, are Cyril O. Houle and Maurice F. X. Donohue.

First we want to touch upon the important role played by Cyril O. Houle, now professor of education at the University of Chicago, who served as dean of University College during much of the "third period" mentioned in the report. It was he who assumed the position of dean in 1944; under his administration the liberal education activities of University College grew and developed. Many of the programs mentioned: the Great Books program, the World Politics program, and the Basic Program of Liberal Education for Adults, were launched under Houle, and later expanded on a national basis. As dean of University College, Houle attracted to his staff many bright young men who are now leaders in the field of adult education in all parts of the country.

We wish to pay tribute also to Maurice F. X. Donohue (who followed Houle as dean and continued until 1961), for his imagination and foresight in creating and undertaking the self-study. He was the person who demanded this brutal process of self-examination, rather than a more traditional, self-seeking, recital of strengths and accomplishments. Donohue allocated his staff to do the research for the study; he brought together the consultants who helped to steer it. The manner in which the self-study was conducted and the extent to which it served as an important and vital learning experience for all connected with it, is a reflection of the dynamic nature and the inquiring mind of Maurice Donohue.

The self-study was started in 1958 and was completed in 1960. We must warn the reader to continually check the tense used in the report. When the report mentions "the program today" it refers to the program in 1958-60, not the program in 1964. It is a very different program today; some programs described in the report are no longer connected with the University, while the Center for Continuing Education and other new activities have been developed.

We anticipate that under Sol Tax, the present dean of extension (who writes the Preface to this publication), and a new adult education advisory board, the past will become merely prologue to an even greater and more imaginative future for continuing education at the University of Chicago.

A. A. Liveright, Director
Center for the Study of Liberal
Education for Adults

April, 1964

PREFACE: CONSPECTUS OF THE SELF-STUDY

In 1962, partly as a result of the self-study project described in this report, the Extension Division was recreated at the University of Chicago. This represented a return to the name, though not the form, chosen by William Rainey Harper, first president of the University. When Harper created the Extension Division in 1892, it was one of four coordinate divisions in the University, with its own distinguished faculty and an impressive corps of travelling lecturers. In addition to lecture courses offered in cities all over the United States, the Extension Division offered correspondence courses, library services, and evening courses in downtown Chicago. In 1900, the Downtown Center was named "University College," a name it was to bear for more than 62 years.

The rebirth of the Extension Division represented a return to the broader concept of adult education pioneered by Harper. The Harper tradition, however, is reflected in newer forms which in turn reflect the forces which constantly reshape higher adult education in America. Therefore, the new University Extension includes University College (though this designation has been dropped) and, in addition, the new Center for Continuing Education, the Office of Educational Radio and Television, and the university-wide Office of the Summer Quarter. The change in organization represented the first phase of a program designed to more effectively reflect the many activities of a great University faculty.

The new organization set out initially to bring the Extension Division into closer relationship with the regular faculty. This involved shifting the center of gravity from the Downtown area to the main campus, now only minutes from the central city on the network of new expressways. Therefore the new $4 million conference center was built on the main campus and the Extension program of credit courses was moved to the campus. The traditionally rich non-credit program remains at the Downtown Center, continuing to offer a varied program of liberal education for adults, but dropping some financially profitable but intellectually sterile courses and replacing them with new series of courses in urban studies and in the natural sciences.

The first phase of this reorientation of Extension may perhaps have ended. The program of evening and Saturday credit courses was successfully shifted to the campus, without damage to the Downtown program of non-credit courses which some had feared. The new Center for Continuing Education opened its doors in January, 1963. In contrast to the recent past, virtually all Extension courses are now taught by regular faculty of the University.

But much remains to be done. The task of extending the University's resources to the large community outside has many ramifications. What correspondence study and travelling lectures accomplished in the days of William Rainey Harper may now perhaps best be achieved through the mass media. In 1964, therefore, the staff of the Office of Educational Radio and Television has more than doubled; a greater volume of programming has already resulted and new programs are on the way. The task of building the Center for Continuing Education into a great national conference center is in its earliest phase. Also an immediate task for University Extension is the development of new kinds of residential continuing education in the Summer Quarter.

The future of higher adult education in America is open and in many respects unpredictable. For example, no university has yet fully solved the problem of degree programs for adults, though several have made significant starts. No university has yet made wide and intelligent use of television. No university has developed programs which will help American Negro adults to operate more effectively in modern American society. No urban university has found means of bringing its full intellectual and moral weight to bear on the newer problems of its surrounding community, or, for that matter, of the national and international communities.

All of these are tasks in which Extension has major roles to play. In the hope of taking an important part in these challenging new developments, the Extension Division at the University of Chicago, without repudiating the past, has been changing and will continue to change as new challenges emerge. In this way it carries on the innovative tradition maintained through its history since President Harper established it more than seventy years ago, and so well illustrated in this report of the University College self-study.

Sol Tax, Dean
University Extension
University of Chicago

April, 1964

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank the many individuals and organizations who cooperated on the self-study underlying this conspectus, and especially the students and faculty who permitted themselves to be studied; Maurice F. X. Donohue and his staff who undertook the study; the advisory committee (Ralph W. Tyler, D. Gale Johnson, Harry Kalven, R. Eric O'Connor, S.J., Paul H. Sheats, and Robert E. Streeter) who helped shape the study; Robert M. Roth, who served as editor; and the Fund for Adult Education, which provided the financial support to underwrite the project.

Sol Tax

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THE SELF-STUDY PROJECT

In May, 1957, under a generous grant from the Fund for Adult Education, University College—and more particularly that tangible and visible part of University College known to Chicagoans as the Downtown Center[1]—undertook to examine itself. It did not pause to do so. It mobilized its entire administrative staff, together with all the authoritative outside agents and instruments which it could afford for such an examination, to observe the whole of its operations. What it sought primarily was to articulate a detailed view of itself as the principal off-campus center through which an eminent private metropolitan university discharges its felt obligation to the adult community around it. Most simply, this view involved four central questions: What kinds of educational services were being extended to the community through the Downtown Center?; How well were they being extended?; To whom?; and To what effect and end? No one entertained the delusion that these were easy questions to put or to answer. The Downtown Center contained a large and, from a conventional academic point of view, heterogeneous collection of Chicagoans who come to a Loop building to avail themselves of the intellectual resources of the University of Chicago, personified in a faculty who conduct a variety of formal or informal educational activities in or out of classrooms and lecture halls. Clearly, this student body, this faculty, and the University, which is the source of their excellence and the ultimate arbiter of the conduct of their mission at the Downtown Center, had to be questioned. Since the administrative staff of the Downtown Center was the intermediate agency charged with the active role of tapping and organizing those intellectual resources into coherent sets of educational offerings and of bringing that student body and that faculty together to pursue them in the most rewarding ways, it, too, had to be questioned. In the more difficult problem of how to put these questions the staff had the extraordinary good fortune to work under the constant direction and with the tireless assistance of an advisory committee,[2] whose deep interest in the project and concern for its validity and importance provided invaluable guidance at every step.

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[1] This confusion of names had best be clarified at the outset. University College as an administrative unit of the University of Chicago comprises three departments: Home-Study, the Union Research and Education Projects, and the Downtown Center. The Downtown Center is charged with the offering of credit and noncredit courses, primarily in a classroom setting, at a specific off-campus location. Although the self-study project had originally intended to embrace all three departments, it became, in fact, a study of the Downtown Center. Hence, from the point of view of this conspectus, the "Downtown Center" and "University College" are synonymous terms and are distinguished only in contexts where such a distinction is called for.

[The reader should bear in mind that this report was written in 1959-60. It describes University College as it existed in the self-study period, 1957-59; and it refers occasionally to administrative changes prior to 1960. Since then, much in keeping with the long history of crisis and dislocation to be described in Chapter II, the University College of the self-study period has yet again been scrutinized and its organizational structure entirely changed. Now, in 1963, it is known by its first name, the Extension Division of the University of Chicago.]

The mention of importance brings up another question: of the dozens of university evening extension colleges now thriving in this country, why was the adult education division of the University of Chicago selected to perform this study of itself? It is in at least two respects a somewhat atypical evening college. Far from being a successful commercial enterprise contributing to the support of its parent, it has been, through most of its history, barely able to support itself. Like its sister institutions, it is now crowded, but not predominantly by that great nocturnal army of earnest, dogged, ambitious degree-seekers, to whom an evening extension course represents a practical investment expected to yield capital gains in a foreseeable future. In fact, a University-of-Chicago degree has never been available directly or entirely through work done at University College, and, though it has always welcomed into its curriculum whatever professional courses the schools and departments of the Quadrangles were pleased to offer downtown (especially in the sense that graduate study in any area is "professional"), its most cherished image of itself has been primarily liberal.

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[2] The committee consisted of Ralph W. Tyler (Chairman), Director, Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences; D. Gale Johnson, Professor of Economics, The University of Chicago; Harry Kalven, Jr., Professor of Law, The University of Chicago; R. Eric O'Connor, S.J., Professor of Mathematics, Loyola College, The University of Montreal; Paul H. Sheats, Dean, University Extension, The University of California; and Robert E. Streeter, Professor of English, The University of Chicago.

The composite archetype of its favorite student has lately been the image of a mature adult, perhaps active, perhaps marginal, perhaps recently bereft of a role in the affairs of his community or family, who feels an incompleteness in himself or in his environment which he attributes to his unfinished or too narrow education; who sees in a University College brochure something that appeals to his vague or specific wants; who comes, at first, to sample a lecture series or a course; and who stays to become deeply involved in a program of serious studies. Though somewhat sentimental, and possibly quite mythical in the light of the objective data gathered in the self-study, this archetype does lurk in the minds of many members of the staff, and exerts an influence on their planning of new programs and their improving and expanding of old ones. Certainly the persistence of this image is not what was meant in calling University College "atypical": it is more likely that this concern for leading the adult to a richer and more unified mental experience is precisely what gives University College its closest fellowship with every other serious and competent institution practicing adult education today. What was meant was simply that University College does not serve primarily a practically-oriented, degree-minded student body.

These are considerations, however, which may have led the Fund for Adult Education to feel that a study of University College might have a value beyond its own self-appraisal as an isolated case. If, as we are frequently being told, university-level adult education has come of age in the past quarter-century, then certainly University College has played an active role in that process of maturation. Its history has been practically co-extensive with the history of the university extension movement in the United States. The problems which have beset that movement have all been felt by University College, often earlier and more acutely than by other institutions (adult extension education, for example, was already in its fifteenth year at the University of Chicago, when its nearest friendly competitor in the Chicago area first opened the doors of its own extension division in 1907). It has frequently enjoyed notoriety as a pioneer in exploring new methods and uncovering new areas in adult education, often having the satisfaction of seeing its successful experiments adopted and maintained as regular offerings in other schools—sometimes, less happily, seeing itself crowded out of these areas by wealthier competitors. If, as some commentators say, adult education in America has passed that period in its history when it was preoccupied with merely operational problems; if its present task is the philosophic one of appraising or, in fact, discovering its proper role in the university, then again the case of University College is anything but peripheral. There have been few moments in its history when it was not actively examining and debating its mission, with itself and with its parent campus. Moreover these debates, by 1957, had apparently succeeded in fostering the creation of an institution both durable and dynamic.

The timeliness and importance of the project were shortly brought home in a grim and unexpected manner. It had scarcely gotten well under way, when developments on the Quadrangles indicated that the period of the self-study might become one of the most critical in the history of University College. A series of financial deficits had thrust the problems of University College more forcibly upon the attention of the University than had been the case for some time. The fact that the creative initiative for devising programs of adult education had for a number of years been entrusted largely to the dean and staff of the Downtown Center tended to arouse the suspicion of some members of the university faculty that their ruling prerogative in determining the educational policies of the university had been neglected.

Before the debate was over a number of harsh questions had been asked: Had the Downtown Center become the creature of its own administrative staff? As such, was it engaging in educational projects unbecoming to the University of Chicago? Had it, in fact, ceased to be representative of the university, in both the range and the quality of its offerings? Would not the university be better advised to abandon informal adult education to other institutions of a more popular character and to retract its formal courses to the Quadrangles? Most of these questions were shortly answered in the negative; in fact University College emerged from the debate in a stronger and more assured position, under a ruling body of the University, than it had had since the days of President Harper. But the fact that these questions had been asked while the self-study was in progress left an unavoidable mark upon it, for whatever the spirit of pride and conscientious self-scrutiny in which it was undertaken, it would perforce be interpreted as an apologia pro vita sua.

This psychological pressure, however, must not be exaggerated. Probably no single question asked or project pursued in the self-study was directly generated or altered by the atmosphere of crisis that hung over University College during this period. However, in the uneven tone of the documents produced by members of the staff treating their own program areas there are signs of irritation and grievance at what then appeared to be the marginal importance attached to the work of University College by several members of the faculty. Some of these documents, full of accusation and anger, are the best reading in the self-study; others, whose aggrieved authors took refuge in a perfunctory formality, are the dullest. Another, clearer, effect of the critical temper of the moment appears in the final report of the self-study advisory committee, which took the form, not only of a favorable commentary on the quality and worth of the educational services offered at the Downtown Center, but of a series of strong recommendations to the university that it increase and enhance its historic role in adult education through a strengthened University College. Whether the fact that the Downtown Center was on trial for its life at a time when adult education was everywhere coming into its own merely underlined the atypicality of its case; or whether it gave a wider symbolic value to the self-study as part of a larger crisis in the conscience of American university extension—these questions are equally ponderable.

The self-study, in its planning and execution, consumed the better part of three years. Of these, the academic year 1958-59 was the period of most intensive examination of the curriculum and the programs into which it was divided; the autumn quarter of that year was the one selected for the administration of the most massive instruments for the analysis and evaluation of the faculty and the student body. In all, the self-study produced 36 major papers, with a number of lesser appendices and extracts, completed before the publication of the advisory committee's final report. They vary in kind from objective tabulations of objective data to subjective interpretations of subjective data, from analyses of operations, problems, and policies to labyrinthine philosophic reflections on the meaning of liberal adult education. Taken together, as an irreducible sum, they constitute the self-study project of University College.

The present paper, compiled by various hands at various times between the summer of 1959 and the autumn of 1960, is a series of gleanings from these documents selected and arranged to present a coherent overview of their substantive findings, and of the subjective and objective image of University College which emerged from them.

ORIGINS AND PROBLEMS

That an inquiry into its original mandate and its development to the present should form an important part of an institution's appraisal of itself, probably needs no elaborate justification. The first project undertaken in the self-study was, in fact, such an inquiry.[1] A reference was made in the preceding chapter to the "historic" role of the University of Chicago in adult education. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the origin and nature of that role as it relates to the evolution of University College into its present form.

Adult education at the University of Chicago is as old as the university itself—four days older, if one wishes to be technical. The explanation of this unusual state of affairs lies in the peculiar nature of the University of Chicago and in the peculiar manner of its coming into the world.

The driving force behind the creation of the university, and the principal architect of its realized structure was the mind of William Rainey Harper, a brilliant young Baptist minister and professor of Semitic languages at Yale. The genesis of his vision, which was to become the University of Chicago, is discernible in the means by which he had already made a reputation for himself in the decade before his famous meeting with John D. Rockefeller—and in the evangelical enthusiasms of that era for the ideal of popular education. As a young Hebrew teacher at the Morgan Park Baptist Union Theological Seminary, Harper had begun in 1878 to show two facets of his peculiar genius and conviction: an ability and a felt necessity to take what had been perfunctory in the academic routine and make of it something alive, immediate, and relevant (within a year of his arrival his courses in the "dead" Hebrew language were besieged by crowds of very live students) and an inventiveness in finding means to extend the range of his teaching to those who could profit from it, but could not be reached through the conventional channels of college instruction. He saw no reason, for example, why students who wanted to learn should be kept from their studies by an enforced summer recess or why the Seminary buildings, limited in their capacity during the regular school year, should stand idle for three months. By 1881 he was conducting an eminently successful summer school in Hebrew at Morgan Park and later set up several more at the invitation of other institutions all over the United States. He saw no reason why his instruction should be denied to those who could not afford to come to his summer schools; for these he prepared mimeographed lessons which he sent through the mail, receiving his students' written recitations the same way. These exploits caught the attention of Bishop Vincent, one of the organizers of Chautauqua, who offered him the principalship of the Chautauqua College of Liberal Arts, a position whose concomitant sense of social mission must have added another dimension to the young Harper's enlarging views of the responsibility of higher education to the democratic mass.

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[1] A detailed history of extension at the university compiled by Betty Heycke.

He was one of a group of prominent educators on the advisory committee of the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching, the organization whose founding in Philadelphia (1890) is taken to be the beginning of university adult education in the United States. Neither its creation nor the term "university extension" were revolutionary innovations in 1890. The English extension system of lecture series accompanied by syllabi, written exercises, and examinations had won academic approval at Cambridge in 1873 and was now part of the regular offerings of both the great British universities. An analysis of their practice had been presented before the American Library Association in 1887 by Dr. Herbert B. Adams of Johns Hopkins, with the result that the Buffalo Library had almost at once inaugurated a course of lectures in economics, which was soon followed by other courses in other municipal libraries. The decision of the American universities to participate in the movement was perhaps overdue, but it was rapid and effective: the founding group dispatched its secretary, George Henderson, to study the principles of the work at Cambridge and Oxford and, upon his return, organized itself as a national association, recruited members all over the country, began the publication of a journal of university extension work, and in 1891 held a national convention attended by members from 28 states and territories which had begun extension work in some form.

It is not surprising that when Harper found himself, in 1890, suddenly possessed of a mandate virtually to create a great university, his conception of its form should reflect these influences born of his own inquiring mind and the Athenian aspirations of his times. From the outset he rejected the notion of founding a college which should slowly evolve into a university under the influences of transient exigencies. He began at once with the idea of a total university, which was to spring forth, Athena-like, with its mission fully articulated and its limbs fully formed. It was a grand plan, perhaps grandiose in view of the money, subscribed by Rockefeller and Marshall Field, with which he had to work. The University was to be an eminent one, its faculty to consist of the finest teachers and scholars who could be lured to Chicago by Harper's missionary zeal and unusually high salaries; its principal focus was to be research and the education of scholars to pursue research—graduate study organized by disciplines; it was to insist that the preparation of these scholars should commence with a broad general education; it was to operate a press for the wide dissemination of the results of scholarship in learned journals; and it was "to provide instruction for those who for social or economic reasons cannot attend in its classes" (the "University Extension Division"). Harper explained the mission of this fourth "organic division" of the new university:

> To provide instruction for those who for social or economic reasons cannot attend in its classes is a legitimate and necessary part of the work of every university. To make no effort in this direction is to neglect a promising opportunity for building up the university itself, and at the same time to fall short of performing a duty which from the very necessities of the case is incumbent upon the University. It is conceded by all that certain intellectual work among the people at large is desirable; those who believe in the wide diffusion of knowledge regard it as necessary; all are pleased to see that it is demanded. This work, while it must be in a good sense popular, must also be systematic in form and scientific in spirit; and to be such it must be done under the direction of a university, by men who have had scientific training. For the sake of the work it should in every instance come directly from the university, that thus (1) there may be a proper guarantee of its quality; (2) character may be given it; (3) continuity may be assured; (4) suitable credit may be accorded. The doing of the work by the university will (1) do much to break down the prejudice which so widely prevails against an educated aristocracy; (2) give to a great constituency that which is their right and due; (3) establish influences from which much may be expected directly for the university; (4) bring inspiration to both professor and pupil in college and university; (5) bring the university into direct contact with human life and activity.

Just as Harper's plan for the whole university has kept its essential structure through revolutions and counter-revolutions of emphasis, so this great statement of policy, at first glance so old-fashioned, at second glance startlingly contemporary, contains in embryo the subsequent history of adult education at the University of Chicago. In its paradoxical association of the broad popular ideals of the Chautauqua movement with an insistence on academic respectability, it foreshadows the alternating periods of pioneering innovation and conservative retrenchment which have led to the multidimensional activities of the present Downtown Center. In the ambiguities and impossibilities which the first attempts to implement it brought to light, it provides a topical index to the nagging and unsolved problems which continue to beset adult education in this university.

The extension division, which was to carry out this mission, had at least the appearance of thorough planning and adequate administrative machinery. It was divided into six departments, each headed by an administrative secretary responsible to the director of the division, who served in the University Council and was responsible directly to the President. Three of the departments administered the three modes of extension teaching: (1) the lecture-study department was to offer regular lecture courses to any community, however remote, which was able to establish a "local centre" and subscribe sufficient money to cover the fee for a series of six or twelve lectures, the lecturer's traveling expenses, the cost of syllabi, and the reference library which accompanied the series; (2) the class-work department was to offer regular classroom instruction in courses drawn from the Quadrangles curriculum at any locations in the city where a group of students found it convenient to meet; (3) the correspondence-teaching department, the most radical innovation in the extension system, was to offer regular Quadrangles courses entirely by correspondence with individual students, and later groups, anywhere in the country. The remaining three departments—examination, library, and publication—and district organization and training, were to relieve the three teaching departments of the administrative burdens involved in securing university credit for extension work, dispatching reference books to the sites of extension courses, and stimulating and abetting the formation of local centers and attempting to develop future leaders for the extension movement. Very shortly, however, in a move of administrative economy these three service units were abolished as separate departments and their duties assumed by the three teaching departments. As a result nothing was ever actually done in the way of training lecturers or organizers for the future.

These departments are directly and indirectly ancestral to the activities of the University College today. The work done by extension, Harper insisted, was legitimate university work, equal in quality and quantity to work done in the university proper; yet it was not to be possible to complete more than one-third of the work for a university degree through extension alone, and such degree-credit was to be secured only through examinations taken by the student in the university proper. Despite later changes somewhat mitigating the stringency of these regulations in some departments, the basic policy has remained through the years: University College has never been a degree-granting institution.

Ideally, Harper maintained, the extension division should have its own separate and distinct faculty, equal in rank to that of the university proper, and devoting its energies solely to extension work. This ideal was never to be achieved, nor do Harper's policies indicate that he ever expected it to be achieved. He did appoint several of his brilliant recruits to the lecture-study department with the rank "extension professor," and the title continued to exist for many years, but in very few cases was the work of an extension professor understood to be confined to his extension duties; in fact the appointment often included Harper's promise of a definite and increasing role in one of the campus departments. He makes his actual expectations quite clear: the extension faculty would consist of (1) special extension instructors, (2) voluntary instructors from the university proper, (3) instructors from other universities or university extensions, and (4) docents, fellows, and graduate students who met with the approval of their department heads. With a faculty of this complexion and an administrative chain of command which gave the extension director no access to the campus departments except through a persuasive and friendly President and the good will and confidence of department heads, serious problems of faculty recruitment might develop at any time—especially in view of one more paradoxical policy which set the stage for the agonies that were to accompany the triumphs of extension at Chicago: all departments of the extension division were expected to pay their own way.

Despite what hindsight might so easily call its shaky foundations, the first chapter in the development of the extension division was a glowing one. The lecture-study program, which lay closest to Harper's dream of bringing the university to the people, had his most enthusiastic support and got off to the most spectacular start. He had recruited George Henderson, his colleague at the American Association, as the first director of the extension division and by October, 1892, had gathered around him an impressive group of the ablest and most experienced English and American lecturers whom he had been able to lure from other universities—men like Richard Green Moulton, who had retained his enthusiasm for the lecture method after 16 years in the Cambridge system and came to Chicago with several revolutionary ideas about the presentation of university courses to adults and the reorganization of literary study for undergraduates.

It was Moulton in fact who launched the lecture program on October 2, 1892, with a course in "The Literary Study of the Bible" at a local center that had been formed at All Souls Church on the south side of Chicago. Three nights later he drew 450 people to the first lecture in another series on the Faust story, this one meeting on the university campus the night before the first regular classes were to begin. Very shortly Moulton's calendar of engagements and requests from centers near and far was hopelessly crowded. Other brilliant lecturers had similar successes. Audiences increased spectacularly in size: in the first year 67 centers were formed and 124 courses attended by 26,782 people were offered; by 1901-02, 140 centers were offering 190 courses attended by 36,000. The peak year was 1905-06 with a total attendance of 58,000 in 197 courses at 129 centers. The University of Chicago's extension program had become the largest in the world: during the first ten years of its existence, 1,637,802 people from San Diego, California, to Tonawanda, New York, had heard at least one of its lecturers.

One could scarcely describe as a failure a program which endured for 19 years, which brought the name of the university and some taste of its thought to over 500,000 people who had attended a full series of lectures, and which placed before the public such men as Harper, Thomas Lawrence, Lorado Taft, Henry Pratt Judson (Harper's successor as President of the university), Moulton, and John Dewey. Nevertheless in 1911 the lecture-study program was officially dropped. The causes of its demise, if they could be resolved with any certainty, would be instructive to modern advocates of broadly-based liberal education for adults. Several of these causes, whether central or incidental, made themselves felt very early in the experiment There was, of course, the killing rigor of the traveling routine itself. In 1893 one of the lecturers predicted, "University Extension will die, because all the University Extension lecturers will have been buried." But he meant all the good lecturers and, by this, ultimately, the popular ones. The paradox here was a complex one. The purpose of the lecture was not the entertainment of idlers, but the stimulation of students to do independent study; the good men did not measure their success by the size of the crowds they drew, but by the number who stayed for the discussion and, more importantly, the number who submitted the written work and took the examination. The proportion of these last to the total audience was always disappointingly small, even in the case of the best lecturers, who, like Moulton, could step out of the world of academic abstractions and meet their audience in terms of the concrete realities of adult experience. But this was apparently not enough; the very content and structure of the traditional academic course, however popularly presented, seemed to have no lasting relevance to an adult who was not already a college graduate (Harper himself admitted this as early as 1902), and the unlikelihood of any given student's living near a local center which could afford a 12-lecture series or a sequence of these made it nearly impossible for him to acquire the depth and roundedness in any area which might lead to an interest in serious academic study. This may have been one of the causes of a gradual despairing of their mission on the part of the lecturers themselves. Certainly another cause was their resentment at being expected to break even financially. When the tally was taken the melancholy truth was that the university was losing an average of $57 per course on the lecture-study program; the lecturers were kept informed of the situation in not-always gentle notes from the President:

> It is . . . apparent that the gross income from your services during the year will amount to one-half only of the salary paid you by the University. It would therefore appear that the University can make just claim to a utilization of your time outside of nine consecutive months. (1905)

Even Moulton's lectures, by 1902, were not grossing enough in fees to cover his salary. If the most popular of the lecturers was unable to "earn his pay" what could be expected of the rest? The questioning of the trustees' policy of a self-supporting extension division approached bitterness after 1906, when a rise in fees caused some of the centers in and about Chicago to drop out of the program:

> It would be interesting and instructive to know on what grounds this opinion is held and whether those who hold it expect any other department of the University to be self-supporting, that is, to live wholly upon the fees paid by students. Did anyone ever hear of an institution of higher learning that derived its support wholly from students' fees? . . . The Extension Division comes nearer the point of self-support than any other department . . . but an endowment of a million dollars is required to put the division in the position of independence in which it ought to be . . . to fulfill its mission . . .

The endowment was not forthcoming. In the academic year 1908-09 most of the lecturers who had been doing the bulk of the hard work either left the department permanently because of ill health or took leaves of absence. Total attendance at lectures dropped by 22,000. In 1911 the shortage of lecturers was cited as a factor in the closing of the department.

The class-study department, at first the most conservative of the extension services, and possibly for this reason less enthusiastically boosted by Harper, got off to a far less spectacular start and threatened a much earlier demise under the weight of its administrative problems. In the first place, it was for eight years without a physical location, its classes meeting in the evenings and on Saturdays wherever suitable or unsuitable rooms could be begged, borrowed, or rented. Almost the same terms would apply to the recruitment of its faculty, a task left largely to the persuasive powers of its one administrative secretary, who soon was complaining to Harper of the indifference or outright opposition of the Quadrangles faculty to devoting any of their time to extension classes, especially under the onerous set of conditions which attended the work. Not only did the students' tuition depend upon the size of the class and the cost of the room in which it met, but so did the instructor's stipend, with the result that he was frequently asked to assume the humiliating role of entrepreneur, to recruit and organize students for his own classes. This set of conditions—and another might be added: that neither prestige nor promotion were forthcoming from extension work—led to two consequences threatening to the central planks of Harper's platform. For if the actual offering of any given course announced in the catalog were dependent upon rounding up enough students to pay for it, no continuity in sequential degree studies could be assured; and if the extension

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faculty were to come to be composed largely of unsalaried graduate students and instructors from outside the university proper, mistrust would ultimately fall upon the quality of the extension courses as legitimate university work. This predicament was clearly foreseen in a set of proposals for the reorganization of the department made to Harper in 1895 by Ira Howerth: (1) that the university buy or lease a building in the Loop area to serve as a permanent home for the class-study department, (2) that every course announced in the extension catalog be given, even if enrollment were small, (3) that every salaried member of the university faculty whose time was not fully occupied be expected to teach an evening or Saturday class as part of his regular assignment, and (4) that every unsalaried instructor be guaranteed a minimum stipend for each class, regardless of the number of registrants. These proposals, some of which still may elicit a utopian sigh today, unfortunately required an endowment for their implementation, and, again, none was received.

Nevertheless, the need and desire for off-campus college credit courses of university quality was great enough in Chicago, particularly among the city's school teachers, to sustain the class-study department through eight years of homelessness. By 1897-98 it was offering 156 different courses with a total enrollment of 1,019. But over its growth hung the prophecy of Howerth that on its "present basis . . . it . . . is doomed sooner or later to fall into discredit," and this insecurity was as visible in the actions not taken, the opportunities missed, in these years as in the lamentations of its administrative secretaries. Quite early the class-study department had been approached by trade and industrial groups requesting its services in organizing programs of study in physics and "sanitary science" for their members. That Harper was enthusiastic about the idea of extending university instruction to men in industry was made quite clear a decade later in the Railway Education Program, but in 1890 the class-study department, scarcely able to maintain itself as a conservative credit curriculum, was in no position to embark upon experimental community services which risked loss of face and money. A windfall was the sine qua non, not only of its continued existence, but of the self-confidence to examine and expand its role in the community.

This windfall came in 1898. Harper, aware that the great majority of the students who had supported the class-study program had been in-service school teachers, and disturbed by the fact that of the 5,000 teachers in the city only 10 per cent had ever had a college education, devoted his convocation statement of June, 1898, to a plea for the financial gift which would enable the university to step into this breach and exert an elevating influence on the quality of public-school education in Chicago. He proposed the establishment at some central point in the city of a college for teachers which should offer the university's full junior college curriculum (taught by a regular salaried faculty), with more advanced and less advanced courses as occasion might warrant, and open at minimal tuition fees to all Chicago teachers without formal entrance requirements and to other students upon application. Almost at once Mrs. Emmos Blaine, daughter of Cyrus McCormick, came forth with a gift of $5,000 a year for five years. With equal dispatch the university rented rooms in the Fine Arts building in time to open the college for teachers on September 30, 1898, with Edmund James, since 1896 director of the extension division and later President of Northwestern University and the University of Illinois, its first dean. The bold and far-seeing hopes for its future which were put forth by James at the opening-night ceremonies, at once dispelled the idea that it had been conceived narrowly as a normal school catering exclusively to the technological or pedagogical needs of a single professional group. Its mission was to be broadly scientific, cultural, and disciplinary; its curriculum was to grow until it included all the Quadrangles courses which might serve the education, not only of teachers, but of "other classes in the community."

> In fact, my friends (he concluded), we shall not rest content until we have organized here a great downtown college in which, so far as possible, all the work of the other colleges in the University shall be duplicated which can be of service to busy people in any line of active life. . . . And this means something for everybody.

The breadth of this mission, which carried Mrs. Blaine's full approval, shortly made it obvious that there was no real basis for preserving the separate identity of the class-study department. The fact that it was offering essentially the same courses to essentially the same kind of student body was weakening both enterprises, and the class-study department could scarcely bear weakening.

In the spring of 1900 the College for Teachers and the class-study department were consolidated into a single college, a name more appropriate to its role and status in the university and the community was borrowed from Oxford, and "University College" began its long life of service as the principal arm of the university specifically charged with evening classroom instruction in an off-campus center. Its subsequent development into the Downtown Center of today falls into three fairly well marked periods.

The first (1900-30) offers the spectacle of University College as an academically conservative and essentially passive institution growing through difficulties into the status of a financially self-sustaining image of the university, strong enough to begin to experiment, on a limited scale, in cooperative areas of extension service. Its passivity was threefold: toward the university, toward the public, and toward the groups who approached it requesting a broadening of its services.

With respect to the passivity of its relations with the Quadrangles, this was probably the happiest period in its history. Backed by a strong and friendly President, basking (until 1906) in Mrs. Blaine's endowment, which enabled it to pay regular salaries and undertaking simply to duplicate the Quadrangles curriculum, it won the enthusiastic support of the faculty. The Quadrangles departments came to consider the offering of regular and substantial portions of their curriculums through University College as an expected part of their mission, and a happy tradition of voluntary participation and high standards in teaching was established, one in which the senior members of the faculty vied with their juniors and graduate students in giving courses. The catalogs of University College show rosters of eminent men of professorial rank from almost every school and department of the university; many names whose eminence was later to distinguish the university appear among the ranks of the instructors in these same catalogs.

The public which its core curriculum seemed destined to serve remained throughout this period essentially the same narrow segment of the community that had supported the old class-study department: city school teachers seeking professional advancement and other students, unable for the moment to devote their full time to college studies, who nevertheless had already begun or intended eventually to begin full-time degree work in the university proper—or, at any rate, were strongly urged by the dean to seek formal matriculation and have themselves classified as degree-students. However, there did persist a substantial minority of unclassified students, who simply wished to avail themselves of credit courses of high quality without committing themselves to a full degree curriculum. This public did not have to be sought out; it came, putting up with grossly inadequate physical facilities, because it needed University College.

This public, however, was not the only one which Harper and the enthusiastic men whom he and his successors sent to lead University College thought should be served. They were eager to enter into cooperative programs of educational and social worth with several groups in the community who approached them with proposals—provided that these groups could themselves finance such programs or could furnish enough students to support them. The first wave of these experiments (1903-06) launched programs of special courses for workers in charitable and reformatory institutions, for religious workers and Sunday School teachers, and for railroad employees of clerical and managerial rank.

These programs of lectures and classes, conceived and given largely by authorities in the fields and institutions involved assisted by university faculty of special competence, foreshadowed immense possibilities for extending the university's influence into the cultural, industrial, and business life of the city. The concepts of reaching all levels of the community through groups and individuals who were themselves influential leaders of the community, of counteracting the effects of departmental specialization with the broader disciplines of social and scientific thought, of presenting this thought to a group of incompletely educated specialists within a format of specific professional, or even vocational, problems were all explicitly present in these early programs. The railway program, particularly, achieved national notoriety as the boldest step yet taken by an American university in bridging the gap between college education and business or industry. Yet, of these programs only one (financed entirely by the railways) flourished for more than a year, and none survived beyond 1906 (the courses for religious workers, however, were taken over by the privately endowed Institute of Sacred Literature, which affiliated with University College that year).

The reasons for their abandonment form an inglorious and already somewhat repetitious theme in this history: lack of funds and facilities for student recruitment, a financial position too shaky to permit the support and nurture of an infant program until it could maintain itself, and simple lack of classroom space. The cost of even painfully inadequate rooms in the Loop area was high in proportion to income from tuition; increasing enrollment often simply aggravated the problem, making for many small classes rather than a few large ones. Mrs. Blaine's endowment, which she annually increased by a substantial sum and graciously extended for three years beyond its original term, was insufficient to support the enterprise. The university had had to assume its deficits to $10,000 during these years, so that when, in 1905, a decision had to be made either for retrenchment and economy or continued experimentation in new fields of extension, the choice was a foregone conclusion. The railway program was moved to Central Station, where it expired at the end of the year, and the courses for social workers were summarily dropped.

An even more melancholy decision was made in the following year. Mrs. Blaine's large gift for the construction of Blaine Hall on the campus had made it impossible for her to continue her annual subsidy to University College beyond June, 1906. Three possible choices faced the University: to abandon University College altogether, to scatter its classes again throughout the city, or to move it to the Quadrangles, where it might enjoy rent-free space adequately designed for classroom purposes. The last appeared to be the best—at any rate, the least disruptive of the University's now traditional belief in the value of class extension and of the necessity for its physical centralization. The event, however, was disappointing. Blaine Hall, which became the home of University College, was simply inaccessible to working adults in 1906; in the first year of its Quadrangles residence, the year of Harper's death, enrollment dropped to 327; in the following year, to 150. The onerous policy of paying instructors according to the number of their students was revived; University College appeared to be rapidly on its way to extinction. This was despite the fact that more school teachers were clamoring for college courses of high quality than had been the case since 1902, when the Chicago Board of Education reacted to the success of University College by establishing its own infant Normal School, leaving many teachers with the impression that its courses were connected more or less directly with the Board's promotional examinations. In 1906 it clarified its policy: courses completed at any accredited university would be accepted toward promotional credit. The response of the teachers was a flood of letters to President Judson protesting the removal of University College from their reach and, in 1907, a petition bearing 215 signatures requesting its return to the center of the city. Both Judson and the trustees were impressed, not only because of the lingering magnetism of Harper's enthusiasm, but by what they had seen of the real accomplishments of off-campus adult education, and especially by the clear need and demand which still existed for courses of University quality despite the presence of less expensive competition. Fortunately university endowments increased in 1908, and Judson, less harassed by a straitened budget, heartily approved the return of University College to a downtown location, this time in classrooms made available on a part-time rental basis by the education department of the Y.M.C.A. at 19 South LaSalle Street. The students responded by enrolling in greater numbers than they had in 1906 before the move to the campus, and Dean Payne, in his annual report, drew this conclusion:

> The development of the last two years . . . demonstrated that the College could not adequately serve the purpose for which it was established unless conducted at some point almost equally accessible to residents of different sections of the city.

A period of steady growth now ensued, culminating in something like real prosperity in the 1920's. Indeed the most pressing problem of the period (and of the succeeding periods) was how to find adequate space and facilities to accommodate soaring enrollments and yet remain within the strictures of a balanced budget. That this was no light problem is painfully evident in the dizzying series of transient addresses which University College has had since 1908[2] and, more poignantly, in the protests of its deans, from 1908 to 1930, that the pathetic facilities which University College could afford not only constituted "an almost unendurable handicap to instructors and students" but were keeping it from those cooperative extension experiments "which should be conducted in the Downtown Center and for which there is an immediate demand." It was not until 1927 that University College could offer its students so much as a reading room, a lecture hall, or even a permanent central office. Textbooks, as a special convenience, were brought from the campus bookstore and sold to them from a stationary closet during the first two weeks of each quarter. Free off-campus library facilities were available only at the

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[2] 19 South LaSalle Street to 80 E. Randolph Street (1913), to 116 South Michigan Avenue (1918), another floor of the same building (1927), to 18 South Michigan (1930), back to 19 South LaSalle Street (1945), to 64 East Lake Street (1958), its present and, so far, most nearly adequate "home."

Chicago Public Library, which had since 1914 maintained a small reserved-book room for the use of University College students.

Only once in its history did the college come close to a permanent solution to its problem of housing and finance. Its prosperity in the late 1920's led the university to consider a plan for the construction of a building, to be located directly across the street from the Art Institute; to be designed for educational purposes with large rooms for classes, offices, conferences, laboratories, and library; to unite the facilities of Orchestra Hall, the Art Institute, and University College into a great and permanent cultural center. Then, of course, came the depression. The dream of a permanent home for University College remained a dream.

Nevertheless, its problems of space and facilities did not prevent the vigorous institution of the 1920's from embarking on three successful cooperative educational experiments with three major Chicago industries: the American Institute of Meat Packers, the American Chemical Society, and the lithographic industry. In the first, members of the university's School of Commerce and Administration presented certificate courses in economics, personnel management, and marketing to groups assembled from all areas of the industry at the Stock Yards Inn. In the second, advanced courses in modern and specialized areas of chemistry, in mathematics, and in physics were given to working chemists and engineers and teachers of science in the public schools. The program, conducted by Professors Julius Steiglitz, William Harkins, and Hermann Schlesinger, was partly professional and partly remedial in purpose. It sought both to keep a highly trained group of specialists abreast of modern developments in their field and to remedy the defects of the over-specialized, over-vocationalized sort of college education which most of them had received, even in first-rate institutions. In the third program, the college assembled a faculty from among working authorities in the lithographic industry and appropriate Quadrangles departments to present courses ranging from lithographic chemistry to cost-analysis for men of practical experience who felt the need of a larger view of the industry and its problems.

The modern reader, who may be inclined to raise an eyebrow at the practical, vocational elements in these programs, may also be forgetting the temper of the period in which they were launched. The new respect for the businessman, and a somewhat skeptical attitude toward the "elevation of the masses" had pervasive influence on American universities during the 1920's, both commercializing their operations and vocationalizing their curriculums. Though the University of Chicago had resisted these trends more conservatively than most other universities, its curriculum in this period showed no great disdain for the practical.[3] What was considered experimental (and therefore exciting, to their advocates) in the cooperative programs just mentioned lay precisely in the opportunity they offered to bring university faculty and research into direct contact with business and industry, to extend the university's influence in these areas, and to adapt its academic disciplines for presentation to an important audience very different from its regular student body.

Reviewing the successes of this first phase in the development of University College—the cooperative programs in railroading, meat packing, chemistry, and lithography, and above all the regular credit courses for teachers—one is again compelled to characterize the period as conservative. The original charge to "give to a great constituency that which is their right and due" appears, for fairly clear reasons, to have been construed somewhat narrowly as applying, in effect, only to those segments of the community which, because of their high repute or active zeal, could induce the university to extend its services to them.[4]

The next phase (1930-44) might be called a protracted crisis in which a changed social climate forced University College to re-assess its mission, add a new dimension to its conception of its responsibility to the community, and take its first steps in a new direction. A new trend, which had begun as early as 1928, became unmistakably clear in

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[3] "Institution Cooking," "Catering," "Household Organization," "Business Letter Writing," and "Secretarial Practice," taught by assistant professors on the Quadrangles and at University College, bore full credit toward University of Chicago degrees.

[4] The massive revival in 1926 of public lectures through University College should be mentioned here as possibly symptomatic of a felt need to broaden the base of extension service. It was not, however, an attempt to re-institute the defunct lecture-study program of Harper's day; no actual courses or study programs were associated with the lectures, though they were often given as series and some drew their material from undergraduate survey courses on the campus. They were a tremendous success with both the public and the Chicago Press: by 1930, when cultural entertainment was not very widely available at such low prices, 96 lecture offerings were attracting some 24,000 Chicagoans on a standing-room-only basis.

1930, and for the next 14 years University College, with more chagrin than surprise, watched its student body steadily evaporate. In 1927 over 4,000 individual students had taken classes in a degree curriculum or in one of the cooperative programs; in 1930-31 this number dropped to 3,564; in 1937-38 to 2,555; and in 1943-44, when University College seemed on the point of expiration, the total number of students fell to a humiliating 1,914. The fact that public school teachers were among the groups hardest hit by the depression only partially explains this trend, for the shrinkage continued through the gradual economic improvement of the late 1930's—nor, as a matter of fact, was it significantly altered by the influx of returning veterans in 1944-45.

The trend, rather, compelled the conclusion that there were now simply fewer adults in Chicago who needed or wanted what University College had to offer: viz., rigorous courses leading to degrees or promotional credits. The decline in need was not surprising: in Harper's day only a small fraction of the city's school teachers had had a college education; by the 1930's almost all began their teaching careers with at least the bachelor's degree. Indeed the master's degree was fast becoming the basic insigne of the profession, and University College did attempt to increase its graduate offerings in the field for this smaller group. The decline in preference for University College was more disturbing. Comparatively high tuition fees and poor physical facilities could only partly explain it. In the opinion of Dean Carl F. Huth, whose long term of office (1927-44) made him witness to this whole trying period, a more important cause was that:

> We are competing with institutions who make an effort to "give the student what he wants" without much regard to educational standards or principles, or who benefit by more or less pointed herding of students in their direction. These facts are common knowledge and are openly given to us by many students who have left or are leaving University College. (1937).

Other developments complicated the problems of this era. On the Quadrangles, undergraduate education was undergoing a radical reformation, but President Hutchins' "new plan," with its system of sequential survey courses and comprehensive examinations in the four major fields of knowledge, seemed merely to confuse and frighten the conservative degree-seekers of University College. Moreover, the drastic reduction of undergraduate faculty which the new plan entailed made nearly impossible the offering downtown of these whole undergraduate sequences by instructors trained in the new skills which they required. Much of the splendid tradition of faculty participation in University College was lost in this period, simply because fewer undergraduate courses were offered and there were fewer faculty to teach them. By 1944 so dim had the image of the Downtown Center become on the campus, President Hutchins found himself under strong pressure from his faculty to end the pains of this withered limb of the university in the simplest possible way—by amputating it. But Mr. Hutchins, whose own interest in adult education was just then deepening, thought otherwise. Before the ensuing revivification of the Downtown Center is discussed, however, some attention must be given to its positive accomplishments in the 1930's.

First, the policy of providing upper-level continuing education for already skilled professional groups was carried forward into the thirties and slightly expanded. The program for chemists and engineers continued, though on a diminished scale since by 1930 University College was only one of several schools in the area participating in it. In 1932 a group of alumni of the University of Chicago law school expressed their need to keep abreast of developments in particular legal areas, and University College responded with a new series of lecture-conferences taught by members of the law school faculty and open to all graduates of "bona fide law schools." The public lectures, too, continued to play to capacity crowds. All this, however, was not new, nor did it reflect the altered society of the thirties, except in so far as the topics treated in these conferences and lectures were of their time (e.g., President Benes of Czechoslovakia on "The Crisis in Europe and Modern Democracy" in 1939; the Illinois Civil Practice Act expounded to lawyers in 1932 by one of its authors, Professor Edward Hinton). What was new, and what was to have a profound effect on the future development of University College was its awakening to the glaring need for services to the community seen as a social and political body. In this area University College played a prominent role, cooperating with the Illinois Emergency Relief Administration and the W.P.A. in community research, in devising curriculums of readings in politics and citizenship, and in helping to set up and provide lesson materials for the numerous adult discussion groups which were springing up all over the country under federal auspices. At the Downtown Center itself the movement took the form of short institutes in which both individuals and members of power groups were assembled for intensive discussions of community problems from poverty to public safety.

Despite what now seem to be the exciting possibilities which these new ventures were auguring for adult education—a new third dimension in which the factitious quarrel between the academic and the vocational would shortly be absorbed into the grander concept of the education of the adult citizen for freedom—still, University College languished with the suspicion that it had outlived its usefulness and had no new mission which it was equipped to fulfill, except in the feeblest, most haphazard way. There was some truth in this view. Dean Huth had himself tacitly admitted that the maintenance of the Downtown Center as a separate, expensive enterprise for the service of a couple of thousand part-time credit students was perhaps not fully justified when he sent President Hutchins his opinion in 1939 that the future lay in the informal offerings to professional and community groups. At the same time, however, he had no facilities to do more than try to respond to the requests of such groups, certainly not to conceive, plan, implement, and execute a new mission in Chicago. He only had, after all, all that the Downtown Center had ever had: himself and one assistant dean and a set of conscientious problems about the proper mission of extension at the University of Chicago. As a private university devoted to advanced research and scholarship it had no interest in intruding into the popular, vocational, broadly ingratiating activities of state universities, which were already crowding it out of some of its own former frontier areas.[5] Nevertheless, it owed something to the community, but precisely what, was something of a dilemma.[6] Certainly its services to alumni and their professional colleagues in the form of the lecture-conference series should continue; certainly, too, the public lectures should continue, if only to keep the city apprised of the university's existence and to provide the faculty with an opportunity to share the results of their research with a broader public than their own students. But was this enough? No. Perhaps there should be someone to work out new techniques for offering courses in connection with the public lectures. Perhaps if all the scattered extension activities of the university were placed under one authority—an administrative assistant to the President, in charge of all off-campus activities—then this personage might "encourage cooperation among all University administrators who have anything to do with extension." The prevailing reverie behind these proposals of 1933 (that "there ought to be someone" to worry about adult education), was not to be answered until 1944, when the Downtown Center, left without leadership for the three years of Dean Huth's severe illness, seemed about to succumb to the frown of the faculty. When the answer did come, in the form of Mr. Hutchins' extension of a free hand and a mandate of confidence to a new and vigorous administration for University College, the result was the beginning of a significant chapter in adult education at the University of Chicago, and perhaps in the United States.

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[5] As, for example, the old correspondence-study department (renamed home study), whose history deserves to be recounted at length but can here only be summarized as part of an already familiar theme. After a long struggle to overcome the bad odor of "correspondence-fraud" in the 1890's, it won first the enthusiastic acceptance of its own university, then a tremendous following through the nation; its success in demonstrating the efficacy of correspondence instruction led other universities into the field, until by the thirties its own inadequate financing and system of paying instructors by piece-work made it retreat from the cheaper and more popular competition into higher-level and experimental courses on a gradually diminishing scale.

[6] This and the following remarks in the same vein are not the whimsies of the historian, but an attempt to reproduce the paradoxical tone of the queries and recommendations in the concluding chapter of

This new chapter, still in progress, saw the rapid rise of the complex institution which is described later. At its outset, it must have seemed to the men charged with its future a revolutionary departure from the past, for there was in 1944 singularly little of this past left visible in University College; what it seemed to require was to be built anew from the ground up, and its new administration proceeded to this radical task with singular assurance and speed. From the point of view of this history, however, the new University College which emerged appears to represent less a radical break with its past than an attempt to embrace more fully all the promises implied in its original mandate. The breadth of that mandate was certainly revived, but its implications were now reconsidered in the light of a climate rather different from that of Harper's day. Adult education had now become a field of scholarly inquiry in its own right, and some of the noble but ineffectual ex-

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the first "University Extension Survey" (1928-32), a penetrating document which early foresaw the trend of the thirties and underlined the ambiguities of adult education at Chicago.

periments of the past were being subjected to a critical scrutiny which yielded up a number of new concepts. Among them were these: (1) that the function of adult education was perhaps not exclusively to produce university scholars; neither was it simply to scatter brief and flashy doses of intellectual titillation far and wide among the population, (2) that one of its central functions was rather to contribute to the intellectual and social betterment of the society by encouraging serious and able individuals to pursue disciplined inquiry in any of those areas of intellectual, social, and economic life which are the concerns of adults and which are relevant to the betterment of the society, and (3) that the adult must be offered the encouragement and facilities for such inquiry in forms which he can use, even if these require radically modifying the shape and content which such inquiry usually assumes in a conventional academic setting.

These are the concepts which guided the new administration of University College, and which within a year produced a striking change in its size, shape, and character. From an instrument for the extending of credit courses it became a workshop in the design and manufacture of new ideas in non-credit, specifically adult offerings. (This is not to say that the credit courses were abandoned; on the contrary, they continued to serve gradually increasing numbers of now predominantly non-degree students. It appears to be a consistent trait of University College that it has never willingly abandoned any area of past activity for which there remained a need; its development has proceeded additively.) By 1945-46 the number of individual students had risen by 100 per cent over that of the preceding year, and all those 100 per cent were registered in non-credit activities; by 1953-54 the number had tripled, while the ratio of credit to non-credit students hovered consistently around 40 per cent to 60 per cent, respectively.

A major theme in the proliferation of non-credit offerings was the idea of a program, a sequential ordering of courses, seminars, and conferences into larger units which would involve the student in a meaningful, constantly deepening exploration of his chosen area, avoid the superficiality of the one-night stand, and demonstrate that the intellectual resources of a university were not exhausted in one evening or one course or one year. The rapid planning and launching of these programs and the care-taking which they required led to another characteristic development of this period: the building up of an administrative staff of sufficiently diverse talents to manage so varied a set of activities. Such a staff was never easy to recruit, even when a friendly but impecunious chancellor could be persuaded that one more administrator was desperately needed to lead an infant program to success. What but the strongest appeals of personal friendship or the greatest enthusiasm for the experimental developments underway downtown could have induced an administrative officer to exchange the perquisites, prestige, and promise of his position on the Quadrangles for the second-class status of a staff member at the Downtown Center.[7] If such a staff could be recruited more readily from non-professional ranks, there still remained the more difficult problem of inducing it to stay on in the face of onerous burdens. The peculiar combination of talents, patience, and energy needed to explore the construction of a durable program of solid worth, to find among the university faculty or other sources of eminence and expertness the men to teach in it, to induce them to do so excellently and enthusiastically, to surmise what segments of the community will be most likely to want and most able to profit from this program, to devise the means of reaching them and interesting them in it in sufficient numbers to support its launching within a fixed and cramped budget, to oversee the details of its day-to-day operation, to analyze its strengths and weaknesses with a view to its constant improvement, to gauge its potentialities for expansion or its likelihood of exhausting its potential audience—in short, the talents required for successful program development—are rarely found in one man of departmental academic background. It is not surprising that these years of expansion included an occasional failure[8] among the successes—or that the rate of turn-over in the staff became a serious problem in maintaining the continuity and excellence of the program offerings.

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[7] A paper based on a significant sample of former and present (1958) staff members' opinions of University College as a place to work, reports that while almost all looked upon it as intellectually stimulating and their jobs as creative and challenging, almost none regarded it as a place to work permanently. The principal reason for this attitude, given by 50 per cent of the respondents, was the lack of status, recognition, and ideological support from the university. (It should be added that very few thought of themselves as professional administrators or adult educators; most preferred teaching or a combination of teaching and administration to administration alone.) Their average length of service was two and a half years. Asked what might induce or what might have induced them to stay longer, one-fifth replied, "Nothing," while the rest most frequently mentioned higher status, more support from the university, tenure, salary increase, relaxation of financial pressures in their program area, more time for teaching and research, etc.

Aside from these data and further remarks in this and the next chapters on some of the functions of the administrative staff at University College, no separate section of this conspectus will be devoted to them. The paper which might have been the basis for such a section, has, in the first place, been rendered obsolete by the drastic reduction of staff which took place in 1959, a month after it was written. In the second place, there is strong presumption against the validity of the subjective responses to several of its questions. By a macabre coincidence, the questionnaire was mailed a few days after the staff had been informed, at a particularly gloomy meeting, that the financial condition of University College would require its imminent reduction by nearly one-half.

That these men planned carefully, however, is clear both from the national attention which the developments issuing from University College received during this period, and from the fact that most of the program ideas which became realities between 1945 and 1957 are still very much alive today. Some, which were either proposed, structured, or nurtured at University College, have grown to nationwide scope through the sponsorship of foundations and other organizations: e.g., Great Books, World Politics, Parenthood in a Free Nation, and the Union Education Project; others have remained the distinctive offerings of the Downtown Center: e.g., the Basic Program of Liberal Education for Adults, the Fine Arts Program, the Federal Executive Program (now grown into several programs for administrators on the state and municipal levels as well), the Board Member Training Program, and several others.

Whether any future chronicler will regard the 12-year period under discussion as one single chapter in the history of University College remains to be seen. Certainly there have been shifts of emphasis and policy within it. At the outset, for example, it was apparently the policy of the central administration to unify all the extension activities of the various departments and schools of the university under the one administrative unit of University College. In 1953, however, a significant move toward decentralization was made when the Graduate School of Business withdrew its evening program from the Downtown Center and established its own off-campus evening school north of the Loop area. The Downtown Center took rapid steps to repair the damage thus caused to its curriculum and budget (which at that time depended heavily upon a core of perennially dependable income-producing courses to support the specifically liberal programs whose promotional and instructional costs were inevitably high) by developing new undergraduate certificate programs in commerce and accounting. These, too, were removed from it in 1957 and before a readjustment to this loss could be effected, the critical deficits mentioned earlier occurred, bringing University College again upon hard times.

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[8] One paper, for example, recounts with wit and pathos the successes and frustrations of two members of the staff (whose interests and backgrounds were primarily in the liberal arts) in one of the most ambitious expansive ventures of the period: an attempt (1955-57) to establish a working branch of University College in the residential-industrial community of Skokie. Their seeking the support of the industrial organizations of the area, which they mistook for the community, and their failure to examine in depth the real wants of either led to the ultimate collapse of the project, and some chagrin to themselves. Although Skokie remains one of the suburban sites for University College courses on a small scale, the failure of the larger scheme underscored the need for some staff members whose professional backgrounds might confer a certain expertise in applied sociology.

In the tenor of its relations with the campus departments this period in the development of the Downtown Center also witnessed shifts of policy. The question of the thirties: "who shall take responsibility for adult education?" had apparently been answered by the events following 1944 with a simple "the dean and staff of the Downtown Center." Since this dean and staff appeared to be both willing and eager to do so, the problem seemed no longer to be the concern of the departments. This fallacy was unfortunately supported by the behavior of the downtown staff. The bulk of their limited energies was going into the development of non-credit programs. Rather than to tax these energies further in tiring and sometimes humiliating attempts to persuade department chairmen to offer more upper-level courses and senior instructors to University College, they preferred to accept what was offered without urging and allowed the credit area to become, to a certain extent, a refuge for young imaginative instructors and graduate students who wanted to try out a course in (say) The Existential Ethic in the Modern Novel. This policy was, of course, detrimental in the long run, both in the gradual estrangement of the Downtown Center from the Quadrangles departments and the sometimes wide gaps in the credit curriculum, to which it led. In 1957 an effort was made to repair this situation and to make it possible for more students to work toward University degrees through part-time study: the means chosen—separate negotiations with individual departments—though it was partially successful, simply underlined the fundamental difficulty:

University College was an administrative unit within the university, but one with now no clearly defined channels of access to the faculty upon whose support it depended ultimately for its mission and its survival.

One of the dangers inherent in this situation, of course, was realized in the events of 1958-59. The decision of the faculty in January, 1960, not only to continue the work of the Downtown Center, but to place it under a ruling body of the faculty, a Board of Adult Education, properly brings this history to a close.

THE DOWNTOWN CENTER TODAY

The Downtown Center today[1] is in every sense the proud and self-conscious heir of the whole of its past, but as a lean and vigorous heir, unable to live on its inheritance alone, it is constantly on the move to improve its fortunes. The troubles which almost destroyed University College in 1906 can by no means be regarded complacently today as the quaint problems of a remote and barbarous age. Their implications are still cogent factors in the present scene, but, recognized as such, they are accepted as necessary operational limitations within which adult education must proceed, not as determinants of its quality and mission.

A far more important part of its inheritance is the conscientious dilemma implicit in this mission. Expressed in simple terms, "Is University College the custodian of the image and curriculum of the university, whose riches it doles out to deserving adults in the community, or is it the healer who identifies the ills and needs of the adult community and prescribes appropriate regimens of educational physic?" The dilemma, if it really is one, is not resolved by the published statement "The mission of the Downtown Center is to make available to the intelligent, concerned adult in Chicago the intellectual resources of the University." Pages 52-77 will summarize what was learned about the identity of this adult, the nature of some of his concerns, and the quality of his intelligence; this chapter is concerned with the current conception of this mission as it is revealed de facto in the present curriculum and the institutional means through which it is extended to the adult.

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[1] For the purposes of this chapter, "today" means the period between November, 1958, and November, 1960. Many changes, some dramatic, have taken place in that period, both as a result of the self-study and of the operational difficulties of 1958-59. But most of these have been in the area of administrative reorganization and the consequent renaming and shifting of portions of the curriculum to fewer administrative shoulders. These matters are of less intrinsic interest than the statements which will be made about the actual programs of the Downtown Center, which remain largely true of the whole period covered.

A General Description

Any attempt to view the Downtown Center as a whole is bound to be impressionistic. Perhaps its physical facilities provide the most convenient point of departure. The Downtown Center now rents seven floors of a building formerly occupied by DePaul University. Of these, the upper five hold 46 classrooms, which, whatever may be said of their decor or comfort, were at any rate designed for instructional purposes, from small seminars to large lecture classes. The students at the Downtown Center have, throughout its history, been almost incredibly tolerant of the physical discomforts which have usually attended their study there. It is remarkable how few thought it worthwhile to complain about the lighting, seating, and general drabness of many of the classrooms or about the ventilation or the exasperatingly crowded and slow elevator service during the evening rush hours. That the students were sensitive to these inconveniences, however, is clear, if only from their greater visibility now that a dramatic change has been made in the facilities related to their conveniences outside of class. In the summer of 1960, the Downtown Center, faced with a rise in rental costs which threatened again to unbalance a budget whose stability had been won by great sacrifices, adroitly snatched an advantage out of what might have become a disaster. Sacrificing the two floors which had housed somewhat scattered student and administrative facilities, it acquired the ground-floor of the building and succeeded in putting a universitorial mark on what had been one of the least prepossessing structures on the block. Now, for the first time in its history, the student and the passer-by could see University College: through the window, an enlarged branch of the campus bookstore displaying along with the texts for courses, 1,600 classic titles in paper-back (virtually the whole range of serious paper-backs) shelved in attractive contemporary fixtures arranged for comfortable browsing; adjacent to it, the student center, a long, low counter where the inquirer can pick up a copy of Announcements and consult with the registrar about its contents or make a counseling appointment with the dean of students; behind it, visible through a glass wall, the student and faculty lounges, small but attractive; behind them, sealed off in silence, the library with its own small collection of some 7,000 volumes including reference works, some learned journals, and books brought from the Quadrangles libraries on reserve for downtown classes; in a corner, the tape and record players needed by students in humanities and fine arts courses; and finally, outside and adjacent to the library, a new and bright coffee shop operated by the Business Opportunities for the Blind.

Most impressive about this setting, though, are the students who people it, buying a text in the bookstore, making one last note in the lounge, or stopping for coffee on their way to class. In the morning they are a trickle, mostly of women, hard to place except by the books they carry. Havighurst's *Developmental Tasks* identifies one well-dressed matron: she is on her way to a seminar in child development as part of her training for leadership in organizing parent education study groups in her local PTA. Aristotle's *Politics* in the hand of another marks her as a fourth-year student in the basic program of liberal education for adults. Another, carrying Faulkner's *The Sound and the Fury*, is on her way to her Introduction to Literature course in the fine arts program. After four o'clock the trickle becomes a stream: the "professional students," after their day's classes at the Art Institute or any of several music schools, arrive for their courses in the academic program for professional students, and the lounge takes on the appearance of a student union in an undergraduate college. The young woman poring over Galileo's "First Day," with a bulky, ill-wrapped canvas propped against her chair, is, in her second year in the program, studying the methods of the physical sciences; the young man with potter's clay on his shoes recopying the last line of his proof that "-A x -B = +AB" will shortly hand it in upstairs in his fourth-year introduction to mathematical thought. By six o'clock the stream becomes a throng too diverse to characterize, except as individuals: two distinguished-looking men of 45 may stand side by side in a crowded elevator as it starts its ascent, but one, a practicing psychoanalyst, is on his way perhaps with skeptical reservations to hear a member of the philosophy department expound Heidegger in a non-credit lecture-discussion course called "Existentialism, Psychiatry, and the Predicament of Modern Man," while the other, a senior administrator in the regional office of a federal agency is perhaps apprehensively facing a rigorous evening in a workshop in creativity and problem solving as part of his work in a certificate-program given by the center for programs in government administration.

If statistics are of any help in reducing their diversity to intelligible general terms, then some statements can be made about these students as a body. In age they range from 17 to 71, but half of them are between

21 and 35 and a third between 36 and 55. Of the one-tenth who are over 50, 70 per cent are women: the sexes are, however, about equally represented in the student body taken as a whole, but men preponderate in those programs offered primarily to professional groups, while women comprise about 75 per cent of the students in the specifically liberal programs. Though age ranges vary too from program to program, the salient distinction between the Downtown Center as an adult education institution and the Quadrangles as a "regular" or "day-time" or "full-time" university is that the median age of the whole downtown student body is 32. Whether or not family background constitutes as distinctive a feature, well over one-third of the students at the Downtown Center had a parent who was born outside the United States, and over half had a paternal grandfather who was an immigrant. Moreover, two-thirds of their fathers and three-fourths of their mothers had never been to college, and while one-third of the present students have an education beyond the bachelor's degree, only 12 per cent of their fathers and 4 per cent of their mothers had such an education.

The Curriculum

The educational programs which attract this diverse group are almost as diverse as they themselves, comprising a range of activities and formats perhaps unique in adult education in this country: formal credit courses, seminars conducted by the discussion method, panels, workshops, lectures, tutorials, conferences, and tours—some of these presented as single events, some organized into intensive whole-day or week-end institutes, some into one-year, some into four-year programs of sequential studies. The attempt to describe this complex curriculum must limit itself to sketching only the most salient matters about it and its divisible parts—though no one basis of division will entirely suffice.

The largest single cluster of offerings at the Downtown Center capable of being characterized by one common term (viz., that they bear transferable college credit) is the so-called academic program, in which slightly less than half the students are enrolled. Its purpose is to provide the fullest and most balanced representation which is feasible of the range and rigor of the curriculum of the University of Chicago to adults who are unable to devote their full time to study on the Quadrangles, but who wish to fulfill some of the requirements for degrees at the university or at other institutions; or who simply want formal academic courses representative of the quality associated with the university, whether to deepen their knowledge in certain fields, to fill gaps in their previous education, to keep abreast of advances in knowledge, or simply to keep themselves alive intellectually.

Beyond this general statement, certain complex qualifications intrude. Ideally, a balanced curriculum would include introductory, advanced, and graduate courses from every department of every division or school of the university, but such a set of offerings would also imply an ideal situation in which every Quadrangles department felt an equal involvement in the mission of adult extension education and could provide such a full range of courses and instructors regularly from its degree curriculum. It is obvious, for example, that (even if there were a significant demand for them), courses in the physical and biological sciences requiring long hours in well equipped laboratories could not be offered at the Downtown Center. It is less obvious why the departments of art and music offer no courses accredited by them at the Downtown Center. However, in most cases where uneven departmental participation causes gaps in the curriculum, University College is by recent tradition privileged to devise courses parallel or supplementary to Quadrangles courses and, securing departmental approval for them and departmental recommendations for staffing them with instructors, to present them as regular parts of its credit curriculum. The result is a broad and fairly well graduated array of courses, heaviest in the disciplines of the social sciences (with 229 courses offered in 1958-59) and the humanities (with 198 courses offered in the same period), much lighter in the physical sciences (with 38 courses, largely in mathematics and non-laboratory chemistry, the rest on the Quadrangles), and lightest in the biological sciences (6 courses, almost all given on the Quadrangles). The relatively poor representation of the physical and biological sciences at the Downtown Center and the relatively low student demand for them no doubt constitutes a problem area in adult education, whether seen from the point of view of the downtown staff, whose preoccupation has been by and large with the humanistic education of the free citizen in a free state, or from the point of view of the Quadrangles science faculty, who are somewhat at a loss to see how, if they have an extension mission, it could be implemented.

Perhaps an even graver problem, from an institutional point of view, appears in the question of credit toward University of Chicago degrees forthcoming from these courses. In this respect the credit program assumes the texture of a crazy-quilt of bewildering unilateral agreements with individual departments about individual courses, and scarcely any generalization is possible, except that at the present time (1960) the Downtown Center is unable to assure any student not yet matriculated in the university that he will receive credit toward fulfilling degree requirements from any downtown course—and this despite the fact that several departments, principally history, sociology, and education, continue to offer nearly all courses which prepare their students for departmental examinations for graduate degrees. Perhaps the one exception to this statement is the undergraduate college, which regularly offers downtown all the language and general education sequences leading directly to the comprehensive examinations required for the bachelor's degree. Despite the clearest possible statements printed in the Announcements, students continue to be confused by the distinction between "credit" and "University of Chicago degree credit" with respect to these courses. Perhaps the chief burden of the dean of students in counseling potential degree students is in attempting to clarify this confusing assortment of departmental policies.

The academic program student body is perhaps somewhat distinguished from that in other programs by the fact that its median age is 28, that in it the sexes are almost evenly divided (52 per cent males, 48 per cent females), and that it ranked second only to the student body in the non-credit programs in the mass media in its mean score on the ACE Psychological Examination (121.2, or precisely at the 50th percentile for University College, or the 73rd percentile on national norms). The distribution of this student body among the courses and disciplines which represent the divisions, the professional schools, and the college of the University of Chicago is most clearly presented in tabular form.

Beside what has already been said about the preponderance of offerings in the social sciences and the humanities, this table underscores the two most populous areas in the curriculum: education and foreign languages. The first, of course, represents the continuance of a long tradition in the education of teachers at University College. Of all the Quadrangles departments, the department of education has consistently maintained the most active role in University College, each year presenting

Major Division or School	Department	Per Cent of Total	
		Credit	Registration
Social Sciences		39.2	
	Anthropology		1.3
	Communications		1.2
	Economics		1.4
	Education		19.1
	History		5.0
	Political Science		1.9
	Psychology		4.4
	Social Science		.9
	Sociology		2.0
Humanities		29.9	
	Art		.6
	Classics		3.6
	English		12.0
	Germanic Languages		1.6
	Music		.4
	Russian and Oriental Languages		4.2
	Philosophy		1.4
	Romance Languages		6.1
	All Languages		14.7
Natural Sciences		14.8	
	Chemistry		2.1
	Geography		.4
	Mathematics		6.2
	Physics		1.6
	Physical Sciences (for "professional students")		4.5
The College		13.7	
	English		3.1
	French		.8
	German		1.0
	History		1.0
	Humanities		3.6
	Mathematics		.6
	Natural Sciences		1.3
	Social Sciences		2.6
The Professional Schools		1.8	
	Graduate Library		.2
	Social Service Administration		1.6

a wide selection of graduate and undergraduate courses required for teacher certification in Illinois and for its own degree programs, and assuming also complete responsibility for providing and paying instructors to teach them. In foreign languages the offerings at the Downtown Center are particularly rich, including all the regular campus sequences leading to comprehensive examinations in elementary French, German, and Spanish, parallel sequences for non-degree students who prefer a less break-neck pace and more emphasis on oral practice, and several languages (Arabic, Chinese, Danish, Japanese, Norwegian, Russian, and Swedish) less frequently studied by degree students in meeting their language requirements. The number of these latter languages offered in any given year tends to depend upon the health of the budget, for the credit courses as a whole must not only remain financially self-sustaining but must to a considerable extent produce enough income to subsidize several of the non-credit areas.

Any discussion of the credit program must confront the question of the quality of its course offerings. This question has been raised in several different and often ill-defined terms: for example, the "level," "equivalence," or "identity" of downtown credit courses with those taught on the campus has been questioned. In the first place, a number of courses at the Downtown Center are offered precisely to fill voids in art, music, and literature caused by lack of departmental participation; others, whose titles, numbers, and instructors are recommended or approved by Quadrangles departments, closely parallel their parent campus courses but do not carry degree credit in their respective departments (though they are frequently acceptable to other departments as meeting "related-field" requirements). About these courses the question of their worthiness to represent the rigor of the University of Chicago must rest on what was learned in the self-study project about the ability of their students and the qualifications of their instructors (particularly, the degree to which those instructors are steeped in the flavor and substance of the university's practices). On these points, the high percentile ranks of the students at various course levels, presented on pages 52-77, and the data on the faculty presented on pages 78-94 provide affirmative answers.

The more complex questions about "level" or "equivalence" center on those courses which have been offered downtown since 1957 as fulfilling the regular degree requirements of certain Quadrangles departments.

There is, for example, the ever-present budget commitment: if registration in these courses were to be restricted exclusively to matriculated degree students, then most of them would have to be cancelled or operated at a high deficit (even if instructors' salaries were paid by the Quadrangles departments), for such degree students usually form no more than one-third of the total credit population. Thus in any such course over two-thirds of the students will be likely to have interests in it other than that of fulfilling requirements for a University of Chicago degree. Then there is the problem of adequately screening these students. Ordinarily only those who have definite intentions of matriculating in the university proper ever seek counseling appointments with the dean of students prior to registration; almost all the rest base their choice of any given course on their own interpretation of its catalog description.

As a result, their aptitude and preparation for it must be estimated by a member of the administrative staff in a brief interview during the rush of the registration process; here certain mistakes can be made. A common example might be that of the student who asserts that he has taken all the listed prerequisites to the course or has had adequate introductory courses in the field in question—but who has, in fact, had them at another institution which did not prepare him for the level of sophistication at which the course is to be conducted. Add to these factors certain other likelihoods: that (1) the working adult will simply not be able to devote the same number of hours to the course as will the full-time student on the campus, that (2) if the course is being offered simultaneously downtown and on the Quadrangles, there will be difficulty in securing reserve books for it in the downtown library, that (3) a majority of the students in the class may expect the course to be a completely meaningful educational experience in itself, whereas in its proper place in the departmental curriculum it may have been intended to cover only one segment of a rounded professional view of the subject, that (4) the compression of class meetings into one evening a week and the zeal of the students in discussing certain topics in the course—perhaps at a different level than the instructor is accustomed to among his younger campus students—may tempt or compel him to reduce the number of separate topics he had intended to introduce. If all these likelihoods materialize, the instructor whose intention was to present the course as identical to the one he teaches on the campus may feel certain conscientious problems when he comes before his adult audience.

Those Quadrangles departments which have recently rescinded or qualified their agreements to extend full complements of degree courses through University College have not done so for reasons consistently related to this problem of "equivalence." Each department appears to have its own reasons, based upon its own estimations of the audience to be served and the worth of the effort of serving them—or upon the degree to which it feels that only full-time study on the campus can insure a sufficient immersion in its curriculum and spirit to produce a qualified graduate.

Despite these vagaries, the academic program at University College each year enables well over 500 matriculated students to initiate, continue, or complete degree studies which they would otherwise have to abandon, perhaps permanently. And each year it provides an additional 2,500 adults, whose degree plans are less definite and whose motives are more varied, to begin or to further their formal education at levels characteristic of the University of Chicago.

Within the credit area the academic program for professional students forms a discrete and in some respects unique product of University College. It is at the same time the community service of which the evening college would seem to be the most natural purveyor, and which the Downtown Center is particularly well equipped to offer. Its uniqueness lies in this combination of characteristics: (1) it is an integrated curriculum of 11 undergraduate credit courses designed to be taken serially and in a prescribed order; (2) it is as a whole and in its parts nonelective, being required of all students in certain professional schools of art and music in the Loop area in fulfillment of the academic, non-professional portion of their work toward the bachelor's degree in fine arts, art education, music, and music education (however, it is taken in its entirety only by those students who enter these schools with no previous college work); and (4) it thus serves a specific population of pre-professional specialists who under other circumstances would be unlikely ever to seek or receive an introductory education in the primary liberal arts disciplines on the University of Chicago model.

The program was conceived by members of the administrative staff of University College, in consultation with members of the staff of the college of the University of Chicago, in response to a request from the school of the Art Institute of Chicago to help them out of an unsatisfactory and unhealthy academic situation. Like most of its fellow degree-granting professional schools in the area, the school of the Art Institute was accredited to offer courses only in the area of professional specialization. For the granting of the bachelor's degree, however, the national associations to which such schools adhere to maintain their academic standing required the equivalent of one year's residence in a liberal arts college, variously interpreted as from 24 to 36 semester hours of college work outside the professional specialty, but in rather vaguely stipulated subjects. Degree students were therefore told, in effect, to go out and get these courses at whatever colleges offered something that looked appropriate at some convenient hour, and to bring back in time for graduation the requisite number of credit hours. The results of this system of shopping around for an education had become increasingly disturbing and finally intolerable to both the staff and the students of the Art Institute. The academic portion of the student's degree studies had become a meaningless chore; the compartmentalized, piecemeal sort of schooling he usually got was worsened still more by the confusion and waste of time involved in sampling and then dropping courses which proved to be above or below him, or which had been designed for needs quite different from his.

The problem seemed made to order for University College. There on the campus lay 20 years of work in the development of a program of unified undergraduate liberal education, an education designed precisely to cultivate wholeness in the future professional specialist, with a well-worked-out body of subject matters and methods and a tried rationale. The response of the Downtown Center staff was quick and whole-hearted. The only agonizing problem was that of culling from the four-year college program a coherent set of the most crucial disciplines represented which could be presented successfully in the limited amount of time which the Art Institute had made available: 33 semester hours, to be taken at the rate of one course per quarter over a period of 11 quarters. The curriculum finally selected was to consist of three quarters of English composition (taught, as on the campus, as a sequence in the methods of analyzing and organizing ideas); one quarter each of the physical, biological, and social sciences (again following the campus models, but selecting from year-long sequences one or two central topics which could be made to yield the same insights into the methods and principles of each science, while giving the student enough experience in manipulating the distinctive kinds of data which each science deals with to give concrete meaning to those principles); three quarters of those disciplines of the humanities which are literary in expression; one quarter of mathematical thought (the logic rather than the rote operations, again drawn from the college mathematics sequence); and finally one concession to the student's future professional role: one quarter of aesthetic theory. The program was launched in 1953 and has been a consistent success since. One by one almost all the other professional schools in the area have joined it, until it now (1960) serves 518 students from the Art Institute, the Sherwood Music School, the American Conservatory of Music, the Cosmopolitan School of Music, and the School of the Goodman Memorial Theatre.

Its distinctive problems stem from two sources: (1) The fact that its student body, uniquely in University College, does not come of its own volition means that its director and instructional staff must make unusual efforts to win the students' intellectual assent to the program and the challenges it presents. Counseling, polling of student opinion, and indoctrination of instructors in the problems of presenting and justifying their disciplines are fairly continuous activities. The program is fortunate, however, in having built up a staff of veteran instructors from the Quadrangles parent courses and from among advanced graduate students and research associates recommended by the English and college social sciences departments, who both know and respect the students and retain their enthusiasm for the work. (2) The fact that its student body resembles that in many liberal arts colleges means that as the American high school graduates more and more students more and more woefully unprepared for college-level reading and writing, so the program receives each year more students unable to meet the demands of its crucial first-year course. Counseling in their case takes the form of tutorial remedial sessions attempting to salvage some for degree studies, and to guide others into appropriate remedial courses, or out of a degree program entirely.

Among the non-credit offerings of University College, the most academically formalized, the most conscientiously liberal in its aims, and perhaps the most revered by the staff (because it seems to approach most closely that ideal image of the adult pursuing wisdom for its own sake) is the Basic Program of Liberal Education for Adults. First offered in 1946, it represented the most earnest and thorough-going attempt up to that time to extend to the adult some of the rigor and some of the pleasure of the interdisciplinary approach to textual analysis and the methods of fundamental inquiry into the basic ideas of the Western tradition which had arisen in the university as by-products of its own fundamental reexamination of the concept of liberal education.

Because the basic program was the activity most intensively analyzed and extensively documented in the self-study project, it is the most difficult to describe justly in any series of summary statements. There is, for example, no consensus of opinion among its staff as to the ultimate ends which the program should achieve. Such a statement of ends, they feel, would claim to know the ultimate uses of the works of great minds. Nor do they feel that there exist any subjective or objective instruments with which the effects of liberal education can be measured. In pedagogic techniques there is also some variance among them, some clinging to the closest definition of the discussion method, with an insistence that all major points in the analysis of a text must come from and through the class itself, the instructor functioning as a co-ordinator of the students' discoveries; others more directly guiding the discussion through close interrogation of individual students until the basis of their position is revealed and a point thus made; others do not hesitate to inject the point themselves by intruding relevant questions into the midst of the discussion.

On more immediate ends and means, however, there is substantial agreement about the operation of the program. Its curriculum is a list of the basic classics of the Western cultural tradition, but they are not (in the seminar) separated for study into the usual formal divisions of subject matter or genre. On the contrary, the reading list for any given quarter takes pains to juxtapose a drama, say, with a work of moral philosophy, a novel with a political treatise—and most often not in any obvious, thematically parallel way, but rather in a way that will generate the tension of dialogue among them.

A second activity is the tutorial, in which a work of some density and difficulty is read line by line in class, in a manner intended to inculcate the habits of close scrutiny and incisive and orderly thinking, as the group together follow the construction of an elaborate argument or the unfolding of the experience contained in a lyric poem. A third activity is a series of lectures in which eminent speakers from the university or members of the basic program staff present contrasting interpretations of some of the works in the seminar reading list.

With no formal requirements for admission, except a willingness to meet with a group of one's peers to explore in depth the fundamental ideas underlying Western civilization, the program accepts the challenge presented by students of widely varying backgrounds (from those who have only a high-school education to those who hold the Ph.D.), representing a cross-section of occupations (from bus-driver to college instructor, but predominantly housewives and professional men), and in a range of age from 21 to over 65 (with a median of 39). However, more than half the students have had some college experience and are between 30 and 45 years old. Both the diversity of the students, the range of the subject matter, and the variety of the classroom activities demand a teaching staff of extraordinary flexibility. Typically the basic program instructor combines a broad background in the liberal arts with advanced graduate study in one of those departments or interdepartmental committees in which the methods of and disposition toward fundamental inquiry persist onto the graduate level. At any rate the basic program instructor must display such a disposition, to have resisted the departmentalization or professionalization of his thinking. In the recruitment of such a staff the basic program has the assistance of a faculty advisory committee, with members drawn from several departments. The basic program staff is without doubt the most closely-knit faculty group at the Downtown Center, indeed the only unified faculty in any meaningful sense of the term. Its practice has been to meet regularly to discuss the texts being read by the students and to educate its own new members in the methods of analysis and the degree of rigor it expects of them in the classroom, a rigor which, in the opinion of some members of a visiting evaluation committee from the Quadrangles, at times makes a basic program seminar resemble its campus equivalent.

Because the basic program offers its prospective students no more immediate rewards than the pleasure of serious intellectual effort expended on the worthiest objects our civilization has produced, its finding and retaining its proper audience is a crucial part of its operation. Its promotional devices are, accordingly, the most elaborate in use by any program at the Downtown Center. One major device it shares with all other programs, credit or non-credit: the Annual and Quarterly Announcements, which are widely distributed throughout the city on the basis of many combinations of many mailing lists. It has its own brochures: the first a brief, attractive folder setting forth the general nature of the program, is given extremely wide mail distribution; the second, a longer, more detailed description of how the program operates, is sent only in response to requests elicited by the first, the assumption being that such a request indicates the beginning of more than idle curiosity in the respondent. All such respondents are also invited to attend the basic program "open house" in advance of the opening of the academic year. Here current students in the program, alumni, and members of the staff explain the program further and offer demonstrations of the seminar discussion method, as well as answering the questions of prospective students. Such students again have access to the director and members of the staff of the program in the weeks preceding the registration period and during the registration process itself.

Despite these precautions designed to assure the program a serious student body, the high cost of tuition and the high demands made upon the students' time and intelligence usually result in a fairly severe drop-out after the first quarter (25 per cent is not considered abnormal), with comparable losses in subsequent quarters and from the first to the second year, so that rarely do more than 10 per cent of any given entering class complete all four years of the program. Partly to bolster the wavering with a spirit of solidarity in the quest for wisdom, but more because the loyal students desire it, the program sponsors a student association which plans two major "basic program week-ends" outside the city each year (at which members of the staff present papers or stage panels), as well as occasional student or student-faculty debates.

In view of its perhaps necessarily small audience (329 students in any recent autumn quarter, with usually slightly less than 25 per cent attending on a twice-a-week or six-hour basis and the remainder on a once-a-week, three-hour basis), its necessarily small class size (approximately 15 students per section), and its tenuous hold on its less serious students, the basic program has never been a self-supporting segment of the curriculum, nor is it likely that it will ever be, as long as its promotional costs and instructional quality remain at their present high levels. It has remained and will remain an offering of the Downtown Center, however, both deserving and receiving whole-hearted support.

The fine arts program, which was conceived and launched (in the autumn of 1957) during the period of the self-study, illustrates another case in which the Downtown Center, functioning as a flexible channel between the university and the community, was able, with help, to combine the resources of both into an educational program of lasting worth. On the one hand lay the rich cultural resources of the Loop area: the Chicago Symphony, the Art Institute, the Lyric Opera, and the Goodman Theatre. Certainly these resources were not going to waste in Chicago, but their patronage was not overwhelming, nor was even a small fraction of their potential audience being tapped. On the other hand, over a decade of research and experimentation on the Quadrangles had by this time produced, in the undergraduate humanities courses, a set of principles and techniques for the analysis of works of music and visual and literary art that seemed assuredly to have raised their study onto firm academic ground, with no taint of the sort of inane impressionism that so often lurked under the name of "art appreciation."

The combination of these resources and the seeking out of a properly earnest audience for them produced the fine arts program, which was planned from the outset as a dual set of activities: in the classroom, rigorous exercise in the analysis of works of art in discussions led by instructors from the university and from the faculties of nearby eminent schools of art and drama (the program has always preferred instructors who are also practitioners of their art and has been remarkably successful in finding them); outside the classroom, a regular schedule of attendance at performances, gallery tours, visits to artists' studios, observation at rehearsals, with lectures accompanying or following these. In short, it was planned as both an academic and performance-centered program, designed to cultivate both a discriminating and an active audience for the fine arts in Chicago. There have been some changes in its original format, brought about largely by the demand of students who wished to pursue one art from the introductory to advanced and more specialized levels of study.

The size and composition of its student body have closely paralleled those of the basic program (338 students in the autumn of 1958, 25 per cent male, 75 per cent female), though its educational level is slightly higher (49 per cent hold at least the bachelor's degree). And like the basic program, it, too, attempts to promote an esprit de corps among its students, in this case through a monthly open house featuring eminent guest speakers or performers, followed by discussion, and usually surrounded by an impressive exhibition of paintings lent by a well known collector and friend of the fine arts program.

To refer to the two programs just described as the two specifically liberal programs at the Downtown Center would be easy and no doubt just, but it might conceal as much about the rationale of the whole curriculum as it reveals. These programs are somewhat distinct from the others in the non-credit area in at least two respects: the relative formality of their curricular organization and classroom procedures (which makes any of their courses convertible into credit courses by the simple addition of the paraphernalia of term papers and examinations), and the fact that they are offered to men and women in no special capacity save that of persons cultivating and refining their own powers of thought and perception as ends in themselves. If the basic program and the fine arts program also contain in their rationale the notion of community, then it is community as a by-product of the individuals who compose it.

One of the most interesting, in these respects, and one of the largest, formally organized, and prestigious sets of special activities at the Downtown Center is comprised in the Center for Programs in Government Administration. Actually the groundwork for the emergence of University College into this area was laid in the thirties, when a representative of the Civil Service Commission approached Dean Huth with a request that he attempt to organize a program for local federal executives. It was not until 1954, however, that University College was ready to embark upon an activity so challenging to its resources, and then it was in consultation with the Chicago Federal Personnel Council. However, it was some time before the real nature of the challenge became known. The present and future likelihood of the increasing bureaucratization of governmental processes was recognized, but the men who ruled the bureaucratic system, the heads of federal agencies who were the first students in the program, seemed either unaware or unwilling to recognize the nature of the power they wielded, not only for the efficient or inefficient operation of a particular government enterprise, but ultimately for the actual determination of policy and hence the tenor of democratic society itself. At first a kind of basic program education was tried, and these men were assigned to reading Aristotle. But the singular lack of success which this tactic met with pointed out the general nature of the error: the social machine was already quite real enough to them; what they lacked was a sense of their own free will as a reality above it. The format of the program was drastically changed: the decision-making process itself, as a kind of kinetic confrontation with themselves, became the central concept around which their courses were organized, and theoretical knowledge was introduced only within the framework of practical decision-making as an act of calculative free will. With this the program became a conspicuous success, indeed a kind of national model for such programs, supported by a faculty advisory committee and drawing for its teaching staff a number of distinguished men of special competence from universities all over the country. In 1957 it began to broaden its audience, devising similar programs for federal employees of lower supervisory rank, then for state, county, and municipal executives, for administrators of psychiatric institutions, and finally (1960) for over 600 members of the Chicago Police Department in or preparing for command or supervisory positions.

The student body of the programs which were comprised in the Center during autumn quarter, 1958, were made the subject of a paper drawing upon their responses to the student inventory questionnaire; the students in these programs, however, are under constant study in two continuing research projects in decision-making and in "Innovative Behavior in Executive Action," the first supported by the Ford Foundation, and the second under contract with the Office of Education of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. As the programs and their special audiences proliferate, generalizations about them become more difficult. In autumn, 1958, when the Center included only the executive development program (for top-level federal personnel), the middle management training program (for federal personnel of rank GS 10 and below), and the professional studies in public administration program (for state, county, and municipal personnel), it numbered 628 students enrolled in its regular evening courses and 125 in its intensive summer institute. Of this student body (73 per cent male) some 38 per cent held at least the bachelor's degree and an additional 38 per cent had had some college experience. Beyond the predominantly male complexion of the programs and the distinctly higher median age (43) which makes them the oldest definable group at the Downtown Center, the diversity of backgrounds which led to their present administrative posts were reflected in widely varying educational levels and perhaps as well in their performances on the ACE examination (mean total score: 111.8).

In general, the educational conception embodied in the government administration programs (in this case the presentation of selected academic disciplines offered to a specific audience conceived as having a specific and crucial role in the community and addressed to the task of broadening their view of this role and their efficiency in performing it) must be taken as broadly characteristic of the remaining host of non-credit activities at the Downtown Center, for they too select and reshape the conventional academic subjects into formats designed to apply to the special needs and goals of special audiences. For the most part this complex array of remaining activities (many of them tours, lectures and conferences, but as many in the form of regular quarter-long classes) must be treated here summarily. Several of them were not made the objects of special study—or else, under the tyranny of grouping by administrative units, had their student bodies somewhat factitiously linked with others in essentially unrelated activities in the student survey.[2] Simply to suggest the outlines of the scope of the non-credit curriculum, however, some of these must be mentioned.

The modern American woman and the roles available to her in the family, the PTA, and the civic improvement organization are the objects of several continuing and growing programs at the Downtown Center. The first two of these roles are addressed in the personal development and parent-teacher leadership program, the third in the extremely popular "Know Your Chicago" series of lectures and tours, co-sponsored by the Woman's College Board and drawing for its faculty a number of civic leaders from such public agencies as the Welfare Council, the Chicago Crime Commission, the League of Women Voters, and several others.

The traditional friendliness of the Downtown Center toward special business and industrial groups important in the life of the city and the economy as a whole is expressed in a number of continuing activities in which University College, either jointly with the university or through the offices of its own administrative staff, assembles a faculty of active professionals in such areas as federal tax legislation, business, or the graphic arts, to present courses, institutes, and lecture-conferences. The chief ones among these are the small business annual management seminar, the annual federal tax conference (these offered jointly by University College and the business and law schools, respectively), a host of lecture courses, beginning with the words "Law for . . . " and designed to acquaint specific professional and vocational groups, from architects to social service personnel, with the breadth and intent of the law as it applies to their work, and the programs in publishing and the graphic arts (formerly an independent administrative unit) offering a range of courses from the technical to the aesthetic elements of the publishing process to a professional audience distinguished as having the highest educational level of any program area polled in the student survey (62 per cent holding at least the bachelor's degree) and as achieving the highest mean score on the ACE examination (128.9).

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[2] The so-called Informal Program of 1958, for example, comprised a number of quite unlike activities: the Parent-Teacher Leadership Program, the Know Your Chicago Program, and a large pool of single non-credit courses ranging from introductory conversational courses in foreign languages to highly specialized seminars for advanced professionals in several fields to such remedial activities as English for the Foreign-Born. The merging of such diverse student bodies in the reports on the student survey and ability tests (reported in the next chapter), is therefore somewhat misleading. If the scores made by the students in the English for the Foreign-Born are left out of the accounting, the mean score for the rest of the Informal Program is precisely equal to the mean score for the entire student population.

It is perhaps in these areas that the concept of university extension reaches its broadest interpretation and departs most patently from conventional academic models; it is also in these areas that some of the incompletely realized wishes of the University College of the past are most fully developed: i.e., to bring the university into direct contact with the life of the community, to bring its influence to bear on the broadening and improvement of the individuals and groups important in that life, and to do this by drawing upon its own expertise, energy, and reputation to assemble and coordinate the experience and skill of eminent leaders of the community and to provide them (again largely on the basis of its reputation for excellence) with the audience most likely to profit from their instruction.

Certainly another important area of activity at the Downtown Center is frankly remedial in intent, addressing itself to that growing number of people in the current era of public education whose schooling was either incomplete or so defective in the basic tools of learning as to leave them, whatever their native ability, unprepared to pursue even an informal higher education. In this area the testing and study skills center, the college preparatory program, and the career development program bring to bear on fundamental problems of reading and writing deficiencies all the expertise in teaching methods and clinical equipment available for the task of preparing able people to study with profit what this or another college has to offer.

If this outline has sketched the rough contours of some of the major program areas which existed or were developed in the period 1958-60, the reader must now be cautioned to recall the statements which opened this chapter: the Downtown Center "today" is in a sense an artificially arrested fiction.

THE STUDENTS

The major instruments administered in the self-study were concerned with the students. One was more or less objective: the well known ACE examination for college freshmen. The qualification "more or less" expresses certain lingering doubts about its perfect suitability to an adult audience. The kinds of tasks it assigns and the kinds of subject-matter through which it assigns them (number progressions, figure analogies, etc.) must seem somewhat remote from the interests of an adult studying Administrative Behavior or Oedipus. The kinds of motivation which it presupposes in its more usual adolescent audience (to score high and gain admission to college, to become intrigued by the abstract problems posed) also seem less automatically to be expected from the mature adult. Nevertheless it was the test selected, for reasons explained below, and it was used to compare the ability of Downtown Center students with that of freshmen in the college of the University of Chicago and in the nation at large. The results, by and large, were extraordinary.

The other instrument, a massive 93-item questionnaire, was more complex in its intentions and in its means. The questions in it ranged from the most factual matters of age, residence, and number of children, through more delicate matters of religion or change of religion, psychotherapy, and political affiliation, to subjective matters like appraisal of the quality of adult education at University College, hopes for the future, and analysis of motives for coming to the Downtown Center. The purposes of this questionnaire were manifold: to identify the student body sociologically, if possible; to test University College's own subjective image of this student body and its wants; to discover, through the hoped-for frankness of anonymous replies, in what areas University College was failing to meet these wants; and to provide an inexhaustible reservoir of data which might lead to insights and guides to the future conduct of adult education programs at the Downtown Center.

The data were obtained from 2,528 students who completed and returned the questionnaire. They are too rich and complex to be summarized in any one chapter of this conspectus; indeed the full 240-page analysis of them barely scratches their surface. This chapter can do little more than to present some of the most salient and, to University College, most interesting conclusions which could be wrung from these data. Because these conclusions were obtained by painstaking tabulations and correlations among the answers to several different questions, they will be presented here without the elaborate paraphernalia of statistics, merely as observations, with passing reference to the items in the questionnaire on which they are based.

The Students, Seen Sociologically

Their Diversity

Perhaps the fact that emerges most clearly from an analysis of the responses to the student inventory questionnaire is that the extreme differences among the students imperil almost all generalizations that one might be tempted to make about them—as a single body or even as a collection of distinct student bodies within each of the program areas.

In terms of family status, 48 per cent of all students have never been married (this, of course, includes the college-age professional student group); of the 52 per cent who are now or have been married, 77 per cent have children. The divorce rate is low, and the number of widows and widowers is small.

In terms of residence, 41 per cent are apartment renters, 27 per cent are home owners, 23 per cent are living with parents or relatives, 7 per cent are room renters, and 2 per cent rent houses. Some 42 per cent live in those Chicago neighborhoods which border the lake, the two principal areas of concentration being the Hyde Park, Woodlawn, and Kenwood communities on the south side and the stretch of the north side between the Loop and Irving Park Avenue. A more detailed breakdown shows 22 per cent on the north lake front, 12 per cent in other areas of the north side, 7 per cent on the west side, 20 per cent on the south lake front, 10 per cent in other areas of the south side, and—the largest single group—29 per cent in the suburbs, mainly the northern and western ones (Oak Park, Evanston, Skokie, Highland Park, La Grange, and Elmhurst).

The typical Downtown Center student, male or female,[1] is a working adult: [illegible]9 per cent are full-time employees, 3 per cent are working part-time, 5 per cent are self-employed, and 1 per cent are either retired or living on an independent income. Homemakers number 16 per cent, and 16 per cent (half of whom are professional students) consider themselves to be full-time students. Their occupations are too varied to be listed singly, but in terms of U.S. census categories there is a definable grouping. The largest single category (1,115 persons) comprises professional and technical workers (e.g., 263 teachers, 102 doctors, 118 in advertising, publishing, or public relations, 55 engineers, 12 writers). Two hundred are managers, public officials, or proprietors; 381 are clerical workers, while 65 are craftsmen, foremen, and skilled workers. Fully 48 per cent consider their present line of work to be their permanent and primary career. Total family incomes covered a broad range, from below $3,000 (3 per cent) to $50,000 or more (2 per cent), but 81 per cent fell between $4,500 and $25,000, with the largest single group (22 per cent) between $10,000 and $15,000. The median family income for the whole population of the Downtown Center is $9,000. There is considerable variation from program to program: for example, the wealthiest group, in the fine arts program, has a median income of $14,000, while one of the poorest groups, professional students, has $7,700.

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[1] Among women students, 52 per cent indicated full-time employment.

From an institutional, academic point of view, perhaps the most striking data were those pertaining to the student's educational level. Despite the fact that the Downtown Center, in all its promotional pieces and other modes of advertising, stresses the fact that there are no formal entrance requirements to most of its courses and regards its non-credit offerings with as high esteem as its credit courses, it continues to attract an audience of consistently high educational level. Fully 49 per cent are already college graduates, and an additional 31 per cent have had some college work. Of the former, 15 per cent hold the bachelor's degree, another 18 per cent have done some graduate work, 12 per cent hold the master's degree, and 4 per cent the doctorate. This state of affairs goes a long way toward explaining the high level of performance of the student body in the ACE examination: the Downtown Center student is the product of an already long academic sifting process. However, in this, as in all the other data just offered, diversity is as much the rule as uniformity.

Corrected Biases

The warning against the danger of generalizations about students will now be partially overlooked, for concluding observations necessarily deal with generalizations. In this section[*] the main emphasis will be on negative generalizations; an attempt will be made to say what the students are not like.

The results of a questionnaire such as the student inventory can be of use in correcting distorted images of students, in forcing one to abandon long-held and sometimes cherished hypotheses about students, and in helping one to choose between opposite hypotheses which contrary to all logic are nevertheless simultaneously—or in quick succession—believed.

Everyone (and more especially the administration) has some image of what the students are "really like." A questionnaire can test these images to some extent but not completely, for the image determines the question one asks, and how one asks it. Sometimes one hears what one wants because one asks what one wants to ask. At other times, however, the answers do tend to reveal the bias in the question. Following is a list of such biases, which received no support—or no conclusive support—from the student inventory. Some of these biases are apparent in the questions asked; others have merely been "in the air," that is to say, they have enjoyed frequent expression, they have often been taken for granted, and sometimes they have held the field because they were thought to be so obviously correct.

That Students are Liberals. The questionnaire definitely showed this bias.

Students as a whole are not liberals. There are more Democrats than Republicans, but there is no majority of Democrats. Only a very negligible number read the Nation or the New Republic. More students are regular readers of the Tribune than the Sun-Times. These three "facts" are picked more or less at random. There is no evidence in any of the answers to the questions which would suggest a prevalence of liberals, or "left-wingers." There are some results which indicate that many students have accepted parts of the liberal world-view. (An assumption is made that there is such a thing, that it includes opinions about morals, art, leisure, human nature, etc. Liberal is used here in the wide sense Lionel Trilling employs in his book, The Liberal Imagination.) Such acceptance is, however, prevalent in the United States as a whole; there is no evidence to suggest that Downtown Center students are more liberal than anybody else.

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[*] Written by Werner Dannhauser as an abridgement of his major paper on the student body.

That Students Are Social Isolates and Marginal Men. One is likely to conjure up visions of lonely men and women, not firmly rooted in the day-to-day activities of this society, people who "don't belong" either to organizations or any tightly knit social group.

The results of the student inventory contradict such a vision. The students are joiners of organizations. They are interested in the political affairs of their country; most of them vote. They have an active family life and by and large a stable one. They go to church. They talk about their courses with a great many people, which proves at least that there are many others with whom they can talk about such things.

That Students Are High-Brows. This bias is connected with the previous one. One is tempted to think of students as part of the cultural "avant garde," readers of the Partisan Review, despisers of all music written after Bach and before Brubeck. Almost none read the Partisan Review; the favorite music of students is romantic music; their favorite magazine is Life; they prefer enjoying the family at home to visiting art galleries. They appear as the most solid of "middle-brow" audiences—to an extent that one would welcome among them more readers of Poetry Magazine and fewer subscribers to the Readers Digest. Finally they are not a group for whom psychotherapy determines a crucial phase of life.

That Adult Education Is a Compensatory Activity; that One's Entry into Adult Education Is Prepared by a Life-Crisis. These statements should perhaps be called hypotheses instead of biases. As hypotheses or assumptions they seem to underlie the very asking of numerous questions in the student inventory. The problems involved both in asking such questions and in evaluating the answers to them have several times been discussed in the full report on the inventory. The following comments sum up these several discussions.

The primary difficulty with these hypotheses is that they are extremely difficult to verify or disprove. One may hold that in the case of a questionnaire their verification is impossible. No evidence can disprove these assumptions. They can be held in the face of all evidence because more often than not they are consistent with any response and with whatever happens.

Part of the difficulty lies in the fact that one has a hard time discovering just what the life-crisis theory asserts, or what constitutes a compensatory activity. The assumptions are slippery; upon examination they seem to change into a more general statement to the effect that all action beyond homeostasis is formally neurotic, or at least subconsciously or unconsciously motivated and determined. Even if this were true it would be singularly unhelpful because by explaining everything one explains nothing. One would have to know why some people choose adult education as a compensation while others choose money-making.

When the theory is generalized, one may as well call it a bias as a hypothesis. It assumes a great many things which are not simply obvious: that actions can be understood by reducing them to simple entities; that the genetic method provides an adequate explanation; and that an understanding of the roots or beginnings are more essential to the comprehension of a phenomenon than an understanding of its flowering or end. The fundamental question remains: is adult education a good thing? If it is good, there is a grave danger that the compensation theory is precluded from understanding it. It is not obvious that such a theory is more adequate than one which proceeds from Aristotle's dictum: All men desire by nature to know.

So much for theoretical objections. On the practical plane one can say this: while the hypotheses (or biases) stated above are not subject to disproof or verification, a dispassionate look at all the results leads one to doubt their validity. A majority of students have never had any psychological counseling. The divorce rate among students is not exceptionally high. Most respondents indicated there were no important changes in life taking place. More often than not adults come to the Downtown Center with limited, specific objectives in mind. They know what they want and they at least think they know how to get it. Unquestionably there is a minority who come with what we may call vague yearnings. In some programs such adults may even constitute a bare majority. This might be the case in the fine arts program, the basic program and the public lectures program. Vague yearnings are not necessarily, however, neurotic yearnings. The turning to education, especially to liberal education, in order to understand the purport of one's longing and thereby to take a step toward satisfaction—this on the face of it can be taken as an entirely normal, rational, and praiseworthy step.

Most of the biases discussed in this section share a presumption of some deviation from the norm on the part of students. It is true that one may consider such deviation as desirable but one ought not impute it without strong evidence. This report suggests that the most significant way in which most students deviate from "normality" is that they attend adult education courses, whereas most adults don't. In respect to their private lives, their hopes, their aspirations, and their enjoyments, the students appear, for better or worse, entirely normal.

Handicaps and Areas of Weakness of the Downtown Center

A questionnaire such as the student inventory should be of use in discovering soft spots, failures, and inadequacies. The administration of the Downtown Center has, of course, other ways of determining its failures than by having students fill out questionnaires. Certain weaknesses cannot even be discovered by questionnaires. The quality of instruction and course content is always something to worry about, but students may not be the best judges

Nevertheless, some of the shortcomings of the Downtown Center are put in an extraordinarily bold light by the results of the student inventory. This section will summarize some of the failures of the Downtown Center which can be deduced from the data, as well as some of the handicaps under which the Downtown Center, at times through nobody's fault, operates.

The Case of the Missing Audience. This is again a negative conclusion. By learning more about who the students are, one learns more about who they are not.

The Downtown Center has failed to attract the growing Negro population of Chicago.[2] Whether one thinks of adult education as that education which makes up for deficient formal schooling, or as education designed to further one's vocational status, or as education to fulfill one's self, or as an instrument of upward mobility, it would seem that Negroes, as a rising university group, could benefit from it. But few Negroes come to the Downtown Center. Explanations may vary, but the fact remains.

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[2] The Advisory Committee disputed this finding on the ground that the lower financial and educational resources of the Negro community bar most Negroes from Downtown Center classes. And the existence of the

The Downtown Center has failed to attract the uneducated. Adult education here seems to be for the already educated. The relatively uneducated are most enthusiastic about their educational experience at the Downtown Center.

The Downtown Center has failed to attract the aged. In a country as wealthy and healthy as the United States, more and more people each year are able to achieve retirement. What shall these people do with their leisure? It is plausible to assume that they could benefit from learning. They might bring to their education experience a refreshing purity—they might be more likely to engage in learning for learning's sake. They would have ample time to devote to their studies. The aged and the widowed do not as a rule come to the Downtown Center.

The Downtown Center has failed to attract the "elite." If one thinks of the elite as those connected with ruling, it may be that they are too busy with ruling to come to the Downtown Center. This may be so but it is no cause for comfort. Education provides standards; it is the rulers who need knowledge most. It is by educating the rulers that one achieves (Plato's Republic). The ruling elements of society are sparsely represented at the Downtown Center. There are some wealthy students (and wealth confers power), but the wealthy students are mostly women—and it is their husbands who exercise the power.

The liberal programs of the Downtown Center have failed to attract men. In other times and other cultures, liberal education has traditionally been the province of men; at the Downtown Center it is conferred mostly on women.

The Turn-Over in Students. There is no reason to suspect that the enrollment situation in fall quarter, 1958, was atypical. More than half the students had never been to the Downtown Center before; 60 per cent

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question on race may have annoyed some Negroes with a consequent (although probably small) decrease in the number returning completed questionnaires.

had been there less than a year; 75 per cent less than two years. These figures point not to a weakness of the Downtown Center, but to a handicap under which it must operate. It is impossible to tell each year just who the students will be and how many of them there will be. This casts a shadow of uncertainty over all planning. One must add that many students appear for the first time at registration time, have no contact with the administration, seek no counseling, and let nobody know what their aims or future plans are. This is more than an administrative handicap; it precludes the establishment of traditions, school spirit, and student organization. It contributes to a general fluidity which one can describe, according to one's taste, as either dynamic or chaotic. To repeat: this is definitely a handicap, but it may be, in adult education, a strength as well as a weakness. Each year the University of Chicago reaches thousands of new people and brings some measure of education to them. The entering class at the Downtown Center far exceeds in numbers the combined entering classes at the college and divisions on campus.

Adults Are Busy People. No concluding observations can afford to omit stating this truism, though everybody knows it to be true. But, it seems as if everyone thinks it so obvious that nobody cares to remember it. The Downtown Center is filled with persons who are students after a day's work (in an office or in the home), students who have responsibilities to their family, their job, and their organizations. Taking a course for them means the sacrifice of an evening with friends or family. The equivalent of a one-way fare to Europe, a used car, or adequate medical insurance is spent on education. An adult who partakes of adult education gives up a good deal. He has, more often than not, a specific need. His primary interest in life, his primary commitment, is not to his education. He cannot be expected to have the loyalty toward his school that an undergraduate does, nor the emotional investment in it. His coming to school is, furthermore, possible only if numerous conditions are met. Some students drop out of undergraduate college, but an almost infinite number of factors can conspire to keep an adult away from classes in the first place, or to force him to discontinue his education, change his plans, or abandon his ambition. Again, this is a handicap of adult education, not a weakness of the Downtown Center.

Counseling May Be Inadequate. While adults as a whole do not appear to seek counseling, they seem not averse to receiving it. Since adults are busy people, they must be made aware of the availability of counseling. They must also be convinced of its advisability in certain cases. The results of the inventory indicate that about 100 respondents wanted to be counseled, but were not. The Downtown Center has failed these students. Of those counseled, one in seven thought he was badly counseled.

Facilities Are Inadequate. Students reported what everybody who has been to the library knows: there are not enough books there. It is fallacious to argue that since adults are busy people, they rush into the classroom and afterwards immediately leave the building. It is more reasonable to say that inadequate facilities aggravate the transitory atmosphere which is already a handicap in adult education. An example may be cited. The Downtown Center used to be located in a building with a YMCA cafeteria, where students could eat together before their classes. Many did just that. They need a common canteen.[3]

High Tuition. There are indications that tuition at the Downtown Center is dangerously high. From the viewpoint of university finances, tuition may be dangerously low, but the students either do not understand the high real cost of education, or do not want to understand it. More likely, it would make no difference to them whether they understood it or not. Students seem to be merely concerned with whether they can afford a course at the Downtown Center. They do not shop for courses as they shop for shoes: most of them do not know the cost of an equivalent course at Roosevelt or Loyola (it is usually less). But they do think tuition is high, and often they think it is too high, especially when they pay more than $45 per quarter.[4] They may be right or wrong in thinking so, but in this area they have the consumer's sovereignty: they can stop attending.

The Small Problems of Administrations. The small problems are in themselves not so small, and added together they become a very big problem: how to run an institution such as the Downtown Center smoothly. Contact with students is often only by phone; one needs trained people to supply information. Adults often have to register late. Adults have a necessarily high rate of absenteeism. Since there are no formal entrance requirements, the diversity of students in a class is likely to pose serious problems for an instructor. In a course on Shakespeare there may be one adult who simply cannot read Elizabethan English and another one who knows more about the Globe Theatre than the instructor.

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[3] Which has been provided in the 1960 remodeling of the first floor at 64 East Lake Street.

[4] This was disputed by the advisory committee, which thought the respondents would declare almost any tuition structure at these levels to be too high.

Assets and Areas of Strength of the Downtown Center

The Student Inventory was designed and administered by staff members of the Downtown Center. It was filled out by students who had already voiced their confidence in the Downtown Center by enrolling. The present analysis has been prepared by a staff member. The reader is therefore not only allowed but encouraged to view the statements in this section with a benevolent skepticism. It may be only prudent to regard those who praise themselves as guilty until they are proven innocent. Nevertheless, a good deal of evidence "in favor" of the Downtown Center emerges from the data collected by the student inventory. No amount of "leaning over backward to be fair" can justify the omission in these conclusions of a section dealing with the strengths and assets of the Downtown Center.

The "Old Timers." While more than half of the students may be new each year, some took their first course at the Downtown Center more than 20 years ago (25 respondents in all). One out of twelve students has been with the Downtown Center—though not necessarily continuously—at least five years. Previously the transitory character of adult education and the rate of turn-over have been emphasized, in contrast to the situation in undergraduate colleges. But for several hundred students the Downtown Center is a kind of home for adult education—the place to which one turns.

Geographical Location and Evening Hours. The Downtown Center has not reached residents of all sections of Chicago with equal success. However, it has reached students who live north of the Downtown Center with equal success as those who live south. It serves basically a working, or housewife, population. Women and housewives seem to want to come to the Loop. The greatest occupational category is "professional, technical and kindred workers." It must be presumed that a high percentage of these (as well as of office workers) work in the Loop. For these people the Downtown Center is ideally located. Furthermore, the time for adult education is rather rigidly limited to four evenings a week—Monday through

Thursday. By offering courses at night in a centrally located place, the Downtown Center makes adult education possible and feasible for a number of adults.

The Downtown Center Fulfills a Multiplicity of Needs. The Downtown Center serves those who want courses that will enhance their chances for vocational advancement, those who want a broad liberal education, those who need transfer credits, professional students who need academic credits, students working for advanced degrees while supporting their families, older people who need the stimulation of an occasional lecture, women who want to be more effective in community service or in their roles as mothers and wives—one is struck again by the variety of the aspirations of students.

The Level of Satisfaction among Students. In the body of the full report, the reader is warned about the difficulty of interpreting the responses to questions which more or less try to find out whether "the student likes it here," whether "he's gained and learned anything," or whether "adult education has been important and beneficial to him." However, even after a great deal of discounting has been done, the results still appear to be meaningful; they indicate that for most students, courses at the Downtown Center have been helpful and important. Fifty-five per cent checked an unqualified "yes" when asked whether they were fulfilling their primary objectives in enrolling for courses. Only 7 per cent replied "no." Seventy-nine per cent of all respondents stated that their educational experience at the Downtown Center was either among the best they had had, or was at least important to them. (Respondents were asked to compare their Downtown Center experience with all their other educational experiences.)

Unique Situations in Adult Education: Some Generalizations about Adult Students at the Downtown Center

The reader has been warned about the difficulties involved about making generalizations about the students. He will now be confronted with some generalizations; he should realize that in most cases there are "big" exceptions. For instance, almost none of these generalizations apply to the more than 400 "professional" students[5] at the Downtown Center.

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[5] Mostly youngsters seeking degrees at the Art Institute of Chicago or at college-level music schools, who do their academic work (1/4 of their curricula!) at the Downtown Center.

The Downtown Center Has No Full-Time Students. This fact makes it a unique institution. Many evening schools or university extension schools are organized around the core of an undergraduate school, classes offered day and evenings, but the usual situation is that there are many full-time students in attendance. If one does not count "professional" students one finds that only 8 per cent of all respondents consider their primary occupational status to be that of a student, and only 15 per cent of all credit students so denote themselves. Only 25 respondents—not quite 1 per cent—were taking three credit courses during the full quarter. Eighty per cent of all credit students were taking only one credit course. In this sense the Downtown Center is really an adult education institution.

The Students Are Adults Who Work and Have Family Responsibilities. Their commitment to education must of necessity take second place to their commitments to their jobs and families. Almost 80 per cent of all respondents, and this includes "professional" students, described themselves as homemakers or full-time employees, or self-employed on a full time basis.

Credit Students Are Also Working Adults. One is likely to think of the Downtown Center in the following way: at the core of it is a credit program, which is a regular college. At the fringes are various non-credit programs; it is only at the fringes that the Downtown Center is an adult education institution. While such a picture may be elegant, it is almost totally inaccurate.

It is essential that one realize that there is a difference between being a credit student and a degree student. Only 32 per cent of all credit students were degree students of the University of Chicago. Some 13 per cent were degree students at other institutions. Fifty-five per cent were not at the time of the student inventory, degree students at all. Almost half of these did not have any degree plans or hopes.

Three out of four credit students were full-time employees. Almost three out of ten had children. Two out of five were married.

The conclusion to be drawn is this: the credit program itself is a unique one that serves the special needs of adults. Credit students are working men and women who would have difficulty in attending another kind of school; they need an institution like the Downtown Center.

Students Are an Upwardly Mobile Group. They are often the children of immigrants. They are better educated than their parents, they are as well educated as their work associates, but they are less educated than their friends. They have better jobs than their parents had. They have not yet reached their maximum earning capacity. They are optimists: they expect their situation to improve in the next five years. They work hard to get ahead in their jobs. They plan to move to a better neighborhood soon or to a better place in their neighborhood. They are socially active and take pride in taking courses for adults; at least they discuss them with many other people. They are more or less contented now, if only because they are certain that the future is bright. In their tastes and aspirations they seem like middle-class people. In our time, however, one tends to think of the middle classes as weary, phlegmatic, and tired. This they are not; they are ambitious and they dream the American dream of progress and the golden tomorrow.

These are a series of impressionistic statements about the students. No certainty surrounds these impressions, nor can one be sure that this is an accurate picture of the majority of students. Neither, however, is it an arbitrary picture. It is based on the responses to nearly all the questions.

Students Are "Professional Course Takers" and Have an Almost Boundless Faith in Education. Three-fourths of all respondents had taken adult classes at another institution before coming to the Downtown Center. Two-thirds had participated in a special adult education program (Great Books, church discussion groups) before enrolling. The students would like to take an amazing variety of courses in the future. They have in the past fulfilled a variety of objectives by taking courses. They seek in courses not only intellectual stimulation but specific knowledge that will be helpful in their family life, or in community service. By their own testimony they fulfill these objectives in courses. When they do not fulfill their objectives they are sure that they have merely taken the wrong course; only one in a hundred thinks that "courses are not the way" to get what they seek.

All these facts add up to a picture of the "professional course taker"; someone who will "take anything" so long as it is a course. Some are actually habituated to attending courses at night. One does not usually look at professional course-takers benignly. One may worry that adult education is becoming a large family affair, with the same group of people being shuffled various ways among the courses offered.

This unquestionably poses a problem. However, one out of four students at the Downtown Center is new to adult education courses; one out of three is new to informal discussion programs. It is safe to say that the Downtown Center is doing a relatively good job in finding new audiences. Its danger may be not that it catches professional course-takers, but that it creates them.

But what is wrong with adults taking course after course? One would have to have an answer to this question before judging the value of serving professional course-takers. The answer to this question is beyond the scope of this report, but two observations can be made here. First, we never speak condescendingly of people habituated to going to movies, or reading detective stories. Secondly, an adult's life is full of surprises. One cannot say that courses can't mean much to him because he's taken so many of them.

Some Topics for Further Exploration

In this section an attempt is made to tie up loose ends, to point to a series of interesting if ambiguous facts, and to discuss briefly some problems which cannot be solved by questionnaires, but which questionnaires can help to articulate.

Similarities and Dichotomies. The variety of responses and the range of age, income, etc., have been documented in the full report. What remains to be said is that quite often one finds two blocks of respondents forming, and two allied sets of programs. One block consists of government administration, special services to business and industry, and mass media; the other of the fine arts program, the basic program, and the informal program. The credit program is like a balance wheel, or like a great power which has no entangling alliances with either block. On one side are the male, vocational programs, on the other the female, liberal programs. Nor do the correlations stop there. The males are younger, the females older. The males are poorer, the females richer. The students of liberal programs are more often the children of immigrants; more often they have lost their religious faith; they have moved more often. To a greater extent they live in apartments, while the students of vocational programs own their own houses.

The meaning of this schism is not clear. One can say that it presents the Downtown Center not only with problems but with a great challenge. This challenge can be called that of cross-fertilization.

Vocational Courses vs. Non-Vocational Courses. One should question the validity of this distinction. Students in vocational courses also have intellectual stimulation and culture appreciation as their goals. On the other hand, a course in liberal education may have consequences of the utmost importance for a student's vocational career. In the longer report, attention has been drawn to data which seem to show that "theoretical" courses are much more practical than "practical" courses.

Competing Programs. The subject matter to be taught, not the students, determines the entity of a program at the Downtown Center. The results of the student inventory, however, provide one with a striking example of how two programs may compete with each other for the same students. Fine arts program students and basic program students are in many respects similar groups. In both programs there is a high proportion of women over thirty, of Jews, of non-believers, and of students in the high income brackets. One should not minimize the differences: fine arts students are a richer, better-educated group. If one accepts the results of the ACE test as a measure of intelligence, one also must say that fine arts students are more intelligent. Nevertheless, the similarities are marked.

This is of importance because the subject matter taught is also closely related. The basic program offers tutorials in tragedy, epic poetry, and lyric poetry. The fine arts program teaches Dante. Instructors have in the same semester taught in both programs. Students have jumped from one program to the other. The basic program used to offer tutorials in music and art appreciation: the establishment of the fine arts program played a role in the basic program's decision to abandon those tutorials.

The similarities have always been known. The similarities of students should be further explored, for they may be of use in determining future policy. Some intriguing possibilities for future action suggest themselves: joint organization of the student bodies, or possibly combination courses. Even the idea of an eventual merger, or the absorption of one program by the other, is an idea worthy of serious reflection.

Education and Income. The well known correlation between level of formal schooling and personal income is confirmed at the Downtown Center in a striking way. One must be cautious because one is so tempted to use this correlation in promotional efforts. Before this is done one should explore the meaning of this remarkable correlation further. Is education the cause or the effect of wealth, or is it neither? The student inventory has yielded results that establish the presumption that "education pays." If this is true, it can certainly be told to people whose heart is where their treasure is. But to say that formal education pays is not to say that adult education pays. Areas of further investigation suggest themselves. Does liberal education pay as well as non-liberal education? Do credits have a pecuniary value; do they have any other value? If credit courses or formal schooling are more financially rewarding than informal courses, is this an argument for moving toward a greater proportion of credit courses? Is the purity of education injured by giving collegiate credit for courses?

Education and Religion. Seven per cent of all respondents were raised without religion; 26 per cent have no faith now. There is a movement toward liberal religion. The post-war religious revival seems not to have had marked effects on the students (though it may affect their children). Some intriguing hints have been furnished concerning the relationship between education and faith—or loss of faith. The relationship ought to be explained rather than explained away. If anything, the evidence seems to suggest that the desire for secular education is the effect, not the cause, of a loosening of religious ties. Even if this analysis is incorrect one can argue that adult education is important precisely because religion has lost some of its hold.

Liberal education for adults must learn to appreciate the loss of faith of so many students. One of the functions of liberal education is to run counter to the current of the times. When atheism becomes fashionable, is it not the task of liberal education to point to those things which are beyond fashion?

Education and Fashion. There is evidence that the fine arts program appeals to a more sophisticated group of students than the basic program. It appears furthermore (on the basis of general observation) that whereas philosophy and theology are discredited in the market place, art is in vogue. Creativity is today a potent word. And, Kafka has more cocktail-party value than Kant.

Although liberal education is critical of fashion, it is not hostile to art. The problem of liberal education's response to the vogue of art and the decline of philosophy warrants a good deal of thought. One can argue either for a policy of intransigence or one of accommodation. The former policy involves the willingness to state the quarrel between art and philosophy in its boldest terms, though always with an openness toward the possibility of reconciliation. The latter involves meeting the student on the ground of his fashionable commitment by teaching him about art intelligently, by leading him toward the greatest poets. When he encounters the greatest poets, he cannot altogether escape philosophy.

Educating the Uneducated. The responses to a question on evaluation of course work at the Downtown Center indicate that the student with less education values his adult education experience more highly than the more educated. If one appreciates what one lacks, these data are entirely comprehensible. However, there is cause for further study in this area. It may be that the Downtown Center does a better job of teaching the less educated, although it reaches by and large a rather educated audience. Nevertheless, the quality of students in each class is likely to vary widely from student to student, as was demonstrated in the study of ACE scores. A school with no entrance requirements save as individual instructors may prescribe prerequisites can hardly control the make-up of classes, especially since so many students first appear at registration time. One wonders whether classes do not necessarily become geared to the least educated student.

Is not adult education committed to quantity? Does it not have to insist that education is for all adults? The situation then seems to be that the Downtown Center appeals to all adults, captures the educated ones, but makes the greatest impression on the uneducated ones.

The Ability of the Student*

To provide statistical data on the second question—of ability—the American Council on Education Psychological Examination for College Freshmen (ACE) was administered without advance notice to almost every student who attended classes at the Downtown Center during the week of November 17-22, 1958. This test was chosen for several reasons.

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*This section is an abridgement by Frank Hess of his paper on the administration of the ACE examination.

It is probably the one most widely used for college aptitude. Standards have been set for it by the Educational Testing Service (ETS) based on performance of 43,000 freshmen in 218 colleges. Norms for the University of Chicago, provided by the University Examiner, were those standardized in 1948 on the basis of 549 "13th grade entrants"[6] to the College, as part of a 10-year (1944-53) study by the Examiner of this examination. And the test is short enough to be administered in one class period at the Downtown Center.

The ACE itself is a timed aptitude test in six sections. Three of these (arithmetic, figure analogies, and number series) deal with mathematical relations and three (definition, same-opposite and word analogies) deal with language. The test yields two part scores, the Q (for Quantitative) score obtained from the mathematical parts and the L score obtained from the language parts. The sum of the two part scores is the total score. (The highest scores possible for the test are: Q=80, L=120, and Total=200.) A high Q score is taken to mean ability in subjects in which mathematics plays an important part: engineering and science for example. A high L score is taken to mean ability in subjects in which language is important.

The wide use of the test is some evidence for its validity. College entrance officers have found it an excellent predictor of performance in college.

The test was administered to 2,478 students or 70 per cent of the total enrollment for the 188 courses which examiners entered.[7] The absentee rate at the Downtown Center varies from class to class and program to program, but so far as could be determined, the absentees the week of the test were simply a random sample and the students present were representative of the entire Downtown Center population, especially since no warning of the examination was given in advance.

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[6] As distinguished from "early entrants" who were not high school graduates.

[7] Two hundred students, when approached, had already taken the test in a previous class. These 200 would adjust the per cent up to 77 per cent. Word that the ACE was being administered was assumed to have spread by Friday and the effect of this on Friday scores as compared to Monday was studied. The Friday scores were lower, contrary to hypothesis. It had been believed that on later days of the week scores would climb because of self-selection, high scorers having been assumed to be more ready to take the examination. It was thought that potential low scores would stay away.

Of the students approached, 98 per cent (all but fifty-three students) took the test. These 53 left the classrooms during the test period.

Results

Comparison between Downtown Center Students and the National Norm. The norms for the Downtown Center students are considerably higher than the norms for the Educational Testing Service national population at all levels.

For example, Table 1 below indicates that 5 per cent of the Downtown Center students scored 166 or above while only 1 per cent of the University of Chicago College students scored 160 or above. Where 15 per cent of the Downtown Center students scored 152 or above only 7 per cent of the College students did so.

TABLE 1

COMPARISON OF PERCENTILES BETWEEN DOWNTOWN CENTER AND CAMPUS STUDENTS ON TOTAL ACE SCORES

Total Score	Percentile Downtown Center	Percentile University of Chicago*
166	95	99
152	85	93
142	75	84
128	60	60
121	50	40
98	25	7
74	10	0

*As represented by scores of College students.

The proportion of people of low ability is much greater at the Downtown Center than on the campus of the University of Chicago, as represented by the college students' scores.

For example, Table 1 shows that where 60 per cent of the campus college students scored 121 or above only 50 per cent of the Downtown Center students scored 121 or above. Further, where 93 per cent of the campus college students scored 98 or above only 75 per cent did so downtown.

Comparison between Students Taking University of Chicago College Courses at the Downtown Center and on Campus. Among students taking "College" courses downtown and the 1948 College norms there is a greater proportion of "superior" students at the Downtown Center than in the College of the University of Chicago, based on the 1948 norms. The upper three-fourths of the students taking "College" courses downtown score considerably higher than the upper three-fourths of the college students on campus.

Also, the median score of the student taking College courses at the Downtown Center is 135 whereas it was 124 on campus, as shown in Table 2 below.

TABLE 2

COMPARISON OF PERCENTILES FOR TOTAL ACE SCORES OF STUDENTS TAKING UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO "COLLEGE COURSES" ON CAMPUS AND AT THE DOWNTOWN CENTER

Total Score	Percentile on Campus	Percentile Downtown Center*
170	--	95
164	98	90
151	93	75
135	69	50
124	50	40
112	23	25
84	1	10

*The population for the Downtown Center consists of 112 scores.

Summary of Results of ACE Test. The answer to the question, "How able are the students who attend the Downtown Center?" appears to be as follows, based on the ACE test.

Although ability to do college work cannot be measured by any absolute scale the ACE indicates that the Downtown Center student body consists of many students of "superior" ability. The proportion of such students greatly exceeds the national norm and compares very favorably with the campus college students as a whole and exceeding them in many cases.

The Downtown Center also has a greater proportion of low-scoring or "inferior" students. While there is only a slightly greater proportion of low-scoring students at the Downtown Center as compared to the national norms, the proportion is much greater than on campus.

The greater proportions of "superior" and "inferior" students at the Downtown Center makes for a more heterogeneous student body.

Table 3 below gives the data on which Tables 1 and 2 were based.

A wide variation in scores among programs at the Downtown Center was apparent. These scores are summarized in Table 4.

Achievement of the Students

The question, "How well do the students at the Downtown Center do in their courses?" is impossible to answer for the whole range of programs at the Downtown Center, if only because of the lack of comparable control groups. However, where the Downtown Center is an extension of campus programs to a wider audience, its objectives are basically the same as on campus. In this area of credit course work it is possible to make a sensible comparison of the achievement of the students on campus and downtown in terms of the grades they received in comparable courses or identical examinations. To some extent it may also be possible, on the basis of such data, to infer an answer to the question, "How effective are the Downtown Center credit courses?"

Preparing the Data for Comparisons

In the case of University of Chicago "college courses" the figures were obtained from the results of the college comprehensive examinations of campus and Downtown Center students of the spring and autumn quarters, 1958, and later with the spring, 1959 results. Also, comprehensive examination results for Downtown Center students for the period 1955-57 were used for comparison with 1958 Downtown Center results. With the comprehensive examinations the assumption of equivalence of grades from course to course is fairly secure, and is, in fact, an assumption made by the college itself.

In the cases of courses at the 200 level and above, the figures were obtained from 14 courses which were offered jointly by University College and the regular departments on the University of Chicago Quadrangles during the fall quarter, 1958. In this case the assumption of the equivalence of grades is not as secure but still seems to have some rea-

TABLE 3

ACE NORMS OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO (COLLEGE), EDUCATIONAL TESTING SERVICE, AND OF THE STUDENTS TAKING UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO COLLEGE COURSES AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE*

Total Score	Downtown Center	Percentile	Percentile	Percentile
		College of the University of Chicago†	ETS	College Courses Only Downtown Center
178	99	--	--	--
170	97	--	--	95
166	95	99	--	93
158	90	96	99	83
152	85	93	97	70
146	80	89	95	70
142	75	84	94	66
137	70	77	90	58
133	65	69	87	48
128	60	60	82	46
124	55	50	77	40
121	50	40	73	34
117	45	31	67	30
112	40	23	59	25
108	35	23	52	22
103	30	11	43	17
98	25	7	35	15
91	20	4	25	12
83	15	1	16	10
74	10	--	10	7
60	5	--	4	4
	N=2,475	N=‡	N=43,000	N=112

*Table 3 compares the norms established from results of the administration of the ACE to University College students with the norms established by the University of Chicago, those established by ETS and the norms of the 0-99 (college) level courses at University College. These norms are presented in the form of percentiles and are for the total scores of the ACE.

†The norms for the University of Chicago are for students accepted for the college after the completion of high school, and were established in 1948.

‡N is unknown but based on large samples over many years.

TABLE 4

RESULTS OF THE ACE ADMINISTRATION BY PROGRAM

	Number of Students	Mean Q Score	Percentile		Mean L Score	Percentile		Mean Total Score	Percentile	
			U. of Chgo.	E.T.S.		U. of Chgo.	E.T.S.		U. of Chgo.	E.T.S.
Academic										
0-99	112	44.5	40	60	84.2	60	88	128.7	60	82
100-149	255	40.5	23	41	77.3	31	78	117.8	40	68
150-199	67	43.9	31	56	80.6	40	85	124.6	50	78
200-299	311	43.0	31	52	82.1	50	86	125.1	50	78
300-399	371	44.2	31	56	85.6	60	90	129.8	60	84
Pre-Prof'l	290	38.4	16	34	67.1	11	56	105.5	16	47
Total Credit	1406	42.1	31	48	79.2	40	81	121.2	40	73
Basic Program										
1st Year	85	37.4	16	31	79.4	40	81	116.8	31	67
2nd Year	56	40.2	23	41	85.0	60	89	125.3	50	78
3rd, 4th Year	51	31.9	7	18	73.3	23	70	105.2	16	47
Alumni	22	30.5	4	16	67.8	16	59	98.3	7	35
Hyde Park	25	40.4	23	41	82.0	50	86	122.4	40	74
Total Basic Program*	217	37.1	16	31	79.7	40	83	116.8	31	67
Fine Arts	146	38.4	16	34	80.4	40	83	118.8	40	70
Gov. Adm.	174	39.3	23	37	72.5	23	70	111.8	23	59
Mass Media	106	45.2	40	60	83.7	60	88	128.9	60	82
OSSBI	117	37.4	16	31	72.1	23	68	109.5	23	54
Reading Ctr.	74	41.5	31	48	69.8	16	64	111.3	23	59
Special Cs.	213	33.0	7	20	66.5	11	56	99.4	7	37
Total Non-Credit	1069	37.8	16	34	74.6	31	74	112.4	23	59
Total Univ. College	2475	40.2	23	41	77.2	31	78	117.4	31	67

*Total Basic Program does not include Alumni group.

son in it, especially when one considers that the courses are taught and the students graded by the same faculty member.

Results

Comparison of Grades Achieved in Comparable Courses by Campus and Downtown Center Students. There is as great a proportion of students at the Downtown Center as on campus who achieve high grades in comparable courses and examinations.

There is a greater proportion of students getting low grades at the Downtown Center than on campus.

Both of the findings above are based on the results of the college comprehensives of spring and autumn, 1958, and in the courses in the 200-level and above given during autumn quarter, 1958. However, the differences are not statistically significant in either case.

When the results of the comprehensive examinations, 1959, are compared it shows that there is no significant difference in the distribution of grades for Downtown Center and campus students.

Also, a comparison between the comprehensive grades of Downtown Center students during two periods, 1955-57,and 1958-59, shows that although there was a percentage improvement in the number of students getting high and low grades (the "A's" increased from 2 per cent to 9 per cent and the "F's" decreased from 20 per cent to 13 per cent) there is no statistically significant change.

Conclusions

An examination of the "ability" (ACE test scores) and the "achievement" (course and examination grades) of the Downtown Center students as compared with students in comparable courses on campus reveals that there is a greater proportion of students at the Downtown Center of high "ability" and "achievement" than in comparable courses on campus.

There is also a greater proportion of students of low "ability" and low "achievement" at the Downtown Center.

Chi-square tests of significance indicate that there is no significant difference between the proportion of high ability and high achievers at the Downtown Center and on campus among the college and 200-level courses. However, there was a highly significant difference in the number of low achievers in a group of thirteen courses, mostly at the 300 level, offered jointly by the departments of the University of Chicago and the Downtown Center, wherein the Downtown Center had a disproportionate number of such students.

THE FACULTY

The third major data-gathering instrument administered in the Self-Study Project was directed to the faculty. In an institution in which fewer than a half-dozen instructors hold full-time annual appointments (in the Basic and Professional Students programs), the term faculty may seem questionable. It did, at any rate, to one instructor, who said of University College that "its identity lies in its administrative staff; it is an administrative staff, officially, because they are the only people who work there full-time. The place has no faculty." His opinion was both understandable and cogent. Like most teachers in University College (outside those closely-knit programs in which the instructors and the program director plan jointly the organization and presentation of courses), he had probably dealt only with one or two administrators and had had little opportunity to meet and talk with his colleagues or to acquire an accurate notion of their number or character. In the sense that he regarded the faculty the faculty of an academic institution as the proper guardian of the continuity, coherence, and excellence of its offerings—in short, as its proper identity, he was possibly suspicious of an institution in which a staff of what he regarded as full-time "professional" administrators had had of necessity to assume some of those functions. His statement, in fact, voiced precisely the concern which had made an examination of the faculty of the Downtown Center one of the major endeavors of the Self-Study. The administrative staff (which is also, by and large, a teaching staff) was far from regarding itself as the identity of the Downtown Center. On the contrary, it felt itself to be represented in this identity only in the coherence of the curriculum and in the extent to which it had had a role in the selection and indoctrination of the faculty and the assembling of a student body for them to teach. The educational process, it felt, is the interaction of a teacher and a class anent a discipline and within a curriculum. In this process the role of the administrator is secondary and remote; the identity of University College, therefore, lies in its students and its faculty, and its quality and character as a purveyor of hope and a dispenser of educational resources lies primarily in this faculty.

During the week of November 17, 1958, a mechanically scorable questionnaire eleven pages long was handed to each of the 172 instructors then teaching classes at the Downtown Center. In most cases the instructor filled it out while his class was being given the ACE examination by a visiting proctor. An additional 170 questionnaires were mailed to instructors who had taught downtown during the preceding year. In all, 209 of the questionnaires were returned (not always completely filled out): 143, or 83 per cent, from instructors then in residence and 66, or 38 per cent, from former instructors. The questionnaire, admittedly an imperfect substitute for extensive interviews and long classroom observation, was designed to elicit responses by which the faculty as a whole might be known and judged (1) in terms of sociological categories and their personal experience and degree of relationship to The University, (2) in terms of their academic qualifications and special achievements, and (3) in terms of their feelings about the Downtown Center, its students, staff, and facilities. Another series of questions dealt both subjectively and objectively with the conduct of their courses at the Downtown Center. The framing of most of the subjective questions was necessarily crude, for the document had to be kept from becoming so elaborate as to annoy the faculty and yet remain relevant to instructors in both the credit and non-credit areas. The questionnaire was twice revised, once to incorporate suggestions made by the Advisory Committee and once again after a pretest. Still, not surprisingly, fewer than one-fourth of the faculty felt that it would make possible "an accurate and complete description" of themselves and their attitudes toward adult education. Of the remaining three-fourths, however, not all were willing to remedy the deficiencies of the questionnaire by adding their own comments at the end.

Nevertheless, some illuminating data by which the faculty may be known did emerge from the questionnaires, and this chapter will attempt to summarize some of the most relevant of them.

The Composition of the Faculty

In terms of its official connection with The University of Chicago, the faculty of the Downtown Center may be divided into three groups:

Group I consists of those persons who, in addition to their downtown teaching, are currently employed in a full-time capacity in the faculties of the university. In the autumn quarter of 1958, 61 members of Group I were teaching 99 courses (25 per cent of the total class hours offered) at the Downtown Center, and an additional 42 gave public lectures or lecture series. Of this group, 52 present and former instructors, or 25 per cent of all respondents, returned questionnaires.

Group II consists of persons employed either in a part-time capacity in the Quadrangles faculties or in a full or part-time capacity in some other campus activity (e.g., in a research institute or project). In the quarter studied, 34 members of Group II taught 60 courses (15 per cent of the total class hours) at the Downtown Center, and an additional 9 gave lectures. Of this group 47 present and former instructors (22 per cent of the respondents) returned questionnaires.

Group III consists of persons employed by the university only at the Downtown Center. In the period studied 77 members of Group III taught 60 per cent of the class hours offered at the Downtown Center, and 110 present and former instructors in this group (53 per cent of the respondents) returned questionnaires.

Since the remarks which follow are based upon the questionnaires received, the reader should keep in mind the slight distortions which may be caused by the unequal zeal of these three groups in completing and returning their questionnaires and their consequent unequal representation in the data.

On the assumption that the right of this faculty to represent the University of Chicago is based upon more than official employment status and includes study at the university or other kinds of close association with it, the questionnaire asked respondents to indicate the nature and extent of their university connections. The results indicate little significant difference among the three groups, but do shed light on the composition of each. For example, 54 per cent of the whole faculty have studied at the university at some time in the past (and 48 per cent have received a degree from it), while only 24 per cent are at present graduate students there (and these 24 per cent comprise 4 persons in Group I, 16 persons in Group II, and 30 persons in Group III). However Groups II and III, as the figures show, are not composed predominantly of graduate students (they constitute only 34 per cent of Group II and 27 per cent of Group III).

In Group II, 21 per cent are actually engaged in part-time teaching on the Quadrangles, while 83 per cent indicate that their Quadrangles employment includes full or part-time work in another capacity. In Group III, some 44 per cent list their full-time employment as being in one of the professions (law, medicine, teaching, administration, etc.); in short, Group III consists of professional men (of the sort who teach, for example, in the government administrative and mass media programs), active either in non-academic fields or in other university faculties (44 per cent), retired members of the University's faculty (6 per cent), graduate students at the University (27 per cent), and persons who identified their full-time occupation as non-professional (housewives: 6 per cent; "others": 6 per cent) or who did not answer the question.

In such vital statistics as age and sex, the three groups show no striking differences. The faculty is predominantly male (84 per cent), with a slightly higher proportion of women in Group II (23 per cent); in age the majority of instructors (68 per cent) are between 26 and 40, with only Groups I and III showing any significant number (20 per cent) of persons between 41 and 50, and all three groups contributing equally their share of those from 51 to over 60 (11 per cent). It is, then, a faculty drawn chiefly from the youngish, vigorous years in academic and professional life.

In the further assumption that certain kinds of personal, extra-academic experience tend to increase the confidence and skill with which an instructor meets and teaches an adult audience, the questionnaire also inquired into such matters as military service, foreign travel, and work experience other than teaching. It found that only 36 per cent of the whole faculty had never seen any military service and of the remaining majority, 55 per cent had served from less than a year to over three years in World War II, 18 per cent had served in the Korean conflict, and 6 per cent had seen military service between wars. In all, 38 per cent had served overseas. The faculty also appears to be a widely traveled group: 58 per cent had sojourned from one month to over two years in Europe, 17 per cent in Asia, 8 per cent in the Pacific Islands, 10 per cent in Africa, and 18 per cent in South and Central America. Here again no great differences appear among Groups I, II, and III. But to the question "Have you ever seriously pursued a career other than teaching?" the responses of the three groups show significant, though not surprising, dif-

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ferences: of the total faculty, 53 per cent replied that they had, but of Group I only 37 per cent so indicated as compared with 64 per cent of Group II and 56 per cent of Group III. It would appear that the "regular" Quadrangles faculty (Group I) has a somewhat less diversified background than have the "associated" (Group II) and "ad hoc" (Group III) faculties.

Academic Qualifications of the Faculty

In view of the fact that 99 of the respondents (Groups I and II) had come to the Downtown Center only after having been sifted and selected for teaching or other employment on the Quadrangles, one might expect to find in them a recherche set of qualifications which would distinguish them markedly from the instructors in Group III. The data, in this respect, would sometimes be surprising, if one failed to keep in mind the fact that Group III is also a select faculty. With respect to academic degrees attained, however, the three groups do show significant differences. In the faculty as a whole 92 persons (44 per cent) hold the doctorate; 76 (36 per cent) hold the A.M. as their highest degree; and for 31 (or 15 per cent) the A.B. is the highest academic badge. But of the A.B.'s only 4 per cent are in Group I, while they constitute 14 per cent of Group II and 20 per cent of Group III. The A.M.'s comprise 40 per cent of Group III, 50 per cent of Group II, and only 16 per cent of Group I, while the Ph.D.'s are 80 per cent of Group I and only 32 and 34 per cent, respectively, of Groups II and III. The distribution of these degree-holders among the various programs at the Downtown Center may be of some interest: as may also be the following table, clarifying the academic positions on the Quadrangles of the members of Groups I and II. From these data it seems fair to conclude that the non-credit areas of the curriculum of the Downtown Center are not significantly less distinguished than the credit areas in the proportion of their instructional staffs who hold graduate degrees and that the proportion of men of tenured and professorial rank who devote a portion of their time to adult education is considerable beside that of their lower-ranking colleagues.

Two other conventional categories of achievement by which faculties are customarily judged were included in the questionnaire, and although comparative figures are not available, the faculty of the Downtown Center showed itself as fairly distinguished in each. Of the 209 respondents, 149, or 71 per cent, had published at least one article, and 84, or 40 per

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Highest Degree Attained, by Program	None, or Did Not Answer	A.B.	M.A.	Ph.D.	Total
(1) Academic (credit) Program	2	11	36	52	101
(2) Basic Program	0	5	5	6	16
(3) Fine Arts Program	1	3	7	2	13
(4) Mass Media	2	3	3	1	9
(5) Special Courses	0	2	3	8	13
(6) Special Services to Business and Industry	1	4	5	6	16
(7) Government Administration	0	1	3	6	10
(8) Reading and Study Skills	0	1	2	1	4
(9) No signature	4	1	12	10	27
Total	10	31	76	92	209

	Total Faculty		Group I		Group II	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
(1) Lecturer or Assistant	15	7	4	8	11	24
(2) Instructor	18	8	15	29	3	6
(3) Asst. Prof.	16	7	15	29	1	2
(4) Assoc. Prof.	8	3	8	15	0	0
(5) Professor	9	4	9	16	0	0
(6) Emeritus	3	1	0	0	3	6
(7) Research Associate	7	3	0	0	7	14

cent, four or more, while 28 per cent had published at least one book and 8 per cent, four or more. The relative production of the three faculty groups was not strikingly different: Group I led by a small margin in the proportion of its members who had written 1 to 3 books and over 5 articles, but Group II slightly surpassed the others in the proportion of its members who had produced 1 to 5 articles and over 4 books, and Group III, numerically superior in all categories, led Group I in its percentage of those who had written 4 or more books. Together the faculty respondents had produced some 615 articles and 155 books as of the autumn of 1958. As winners of honors and awards they also showed some distinction. As students, 76 per cent had at one time won scholarships, and 50 per cent had held fellowships. As teachers and scholars nearly half the members of all three groups had won some type of special award for academic competence, while one-third of those in Groups II and III and 10 per cent of those in Group I had won prizes or honors in professional activities outside the purely academic.

The teaching experience of the faculty (with two years regarded as minimal for a response) was surveyed under several categories: the findings, though difficult to reduce to simple generalizations, portray the group as a well-seasoned instructional staff, whose experience, though primarily in regular day-time college teaching, comes close to striking a balance between that and adult extension work. For example, in the case of credit courses, where 46 per cent of the faculty have taught from two to over ten years in daytime undergraduate classes, 37 per cent have had the same amount of experience teaching adult undergraduate extension classes; and with graduate courses the proportions are even closer: 28 per cent have taught daytime graduates for at least two years, and 27 per cent, adult graduates. In this last category, it may deserve to be noted, the relative proportions of the three faculty groups are nearly identical, whereas in the areas of daytime graduate and undergraduate teaching Group I leads the other two in the proportion, but not the number, of its members with the minimal two years of experience. One might be tempted to see in the slight preponderance of members of Groups II and III (42 persons) who have taught adult graduate students over those (36 persons) who indicated at least two years of regular daytime graduate teaching the sign of a tendency to specialize in adult education on the graduate level, at least on the part of a few individuals who are not regular university faculty members, but such a tendency in no way characterizes the faculty as a whole, 70 per cent of whom have taught regular daytime college classes and have apparently retained the pedagogical orientation inherent in that experience. At the same time (at what might be called the opposite pole of orientation) 33 per cent of the staff have had at least two years of experience in teaching adult non-credit classes, and this figure comprises 21 per cent of Group I, 43 per cent of Group II, and 40 per cent of Group III. These, with the other data on adult credit teaching, lead again to the conclusion that although the faculty as a whole cannot be characterized as a group of specialists in adult education, a sizable and persistent minority of

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them have had as much teaching experience in the extension field as in regular daytime classes and their presence as a solid and perhaps enlarging core of seasoned veterans does much to palliate the disadvantages of a part-time faculty with its high rate of turn-over from year to year.

All in all, these findings led the Advisory Committee of the Self-Study Project to comment that the faculty of the Downtown Center was probably a better one than The University deserved, in view, that is, of what the Committee had surmised about current rates of remuneration for Downtown as opposed to Quadrangles teaching. The fact that the Downtown Center does each year attract a faculty of this calibre leads naturally to an inquiry into their motives for and feelings about teaching there.

Attitudes of the Faculty toward Teaching at the Downtown Center

Of a series of concrete reasons for teaching Downtown, which the faculty were asked to rank as "most important," "less important," and "least important" to them, the one most frequently checked as their most important motive was that they found adults stimulating to teach (56 persons, or a little over one-fourth of the whole faculty made this response). Next in order was the sheer love of teaching, regardless of the age or maturity of their students (42 persons), and third was the wish for additional teaching experience in their chosen field (39 persons). The need for extra money came fourth (36 persons), but 37 regarded it as less important, and 42 (the largest number who agreed on what ranked lowest among their motives) rated it as least important. This happy preponderance of what might be called joyous professional motives over mercenary or perfunctory ones, it must be admitted, owes more to Groups II and III than to the regular Quadrangles faculty, whose pattern of responses is amusingly at variance with that of the others. Among them, the monetary motive and the fact that their extension classes were in some cases part of their regular teaching assignment were the two most numerous responses (18 and 10 persons, respectively, or a little over half the group), with the opportunity for more teaching experience (8 persons), the enjoyment of teaching per se (6 persons), and the stimulation afforded by teaching adults (3 persons) bringing up the rear in rapidly descending order. But if the members of Group I were disposed to appear brash about what they regarded as their first motive for teaching

Downtown, they also made it clear that they were not cynical: in the column of secondary motives they restored their enjoyment of adult students to first place. And indeed in all the following questions polling their feelings about teaching at the Downtown Center and about adult education generally, what stands out most clearly in the data is the size of the majorities of all three faculty groups whose attitude toward their students is warm and approving. The most striking example appears in the following table, whose otherwise so heterogeneous responses defy generalization:

OPINIONS OF TEACHING CONDITIONS AT THE DOWNTOWN CENTER
(By number of persons only)

	Most Attractive Feature			Least Attractive Feature		
	Groups			Groups		
	I	II	III	I	II	III
1) The academic preparation of the students	0	7	11	18	7	26
2) The maturity of adult students	31	27	76	1	1	0
3) The classroom facilities of the Center	5	1	12	7	9	24
4) The bookstore and library services of the Center (as they were in autumn, 1958)	2	1	9	12	11	22
5) The administrative staff of the Center	3	7	19	4	3	8
6) The audio-visual aids available at the Center	0	0	6	5	7	21
7) The fact that many classes meet only one night per week	13	7	20	4	6	22
8) The location of the Center	5	10	33	8	3	11

The lament of nearly one-fourth of the faculty (and over one-third of Group I) over the academic preparation of their students (whose glare in item 1 almost dims the luster of item 2) was explained and to an extent retracted in the next question, in which they were asked for their judgment of the students' demonstrated abilities to grasp the necessary concepts and to meet the challenge of the subject-matters of their courses. Here strong majorities of all three groups answered affirmatively; only four instructors (one in Group I) felt that "students seldom grasp necessary concepts"; only five (one in Group I), that they seldom meet the challenge of the subject-matter. But 16 members of Group I, six of Group II, and 25 of Group III (cf. the numbers in item 1 in the table) felt that no such statements could be applied to their students generally (and the data on pages 52-77, identifying a somewhat anomalous fringe of students of low "ability" and low "achievement," make it understandable that one out of four instructors, who might have found noticeable numbers of such students in his class, would be unable to make such judgments as were asked for about his students in general). Thus there is reason to suppose that the complaint voiced in item 1 was directed, not at the student body as a whole, but at some small portion of them who appeared in the classes of about one-fourth of the instructors.

Opinions and Practices of the Faculty

Adult education has most often been defined and examined comparatively and negatively, most discussions beginning—and many of them ending—by comparing it with "regular, daytime education" of college students in their late teens and early twenties, so that its treatment often proceeds by means of negative statements. Adult educators who are dissatisfied with the implications of such an approach will perhaps be restive with the following data, for they were elicited by questions based largely on the comparative method as the one most applicable to the present case. If the task of this portion of the questionnaire was to obtain a view, both general and detailed, of the kind and quality of adult education offered in the classrooms of the Downtown Center and to obtain it from the men who are, de facto, the only real purveyors of that education, then the faculty, whose principal concerns and experience have been with daytime teaching, had to be questioned in terms most concretely meaningful to them, and perhaps most illuminating to University College. Most of these questions were addressed to the faculty as a whole, but in several cases a question could be appropriately put only to those 70 per cent who had taught daytime college classes, and in still other cases the question was restricted to members of the Quadrangles faculties (100 per cent of Group I and 38 per cent of Group II).

The Objectives of Adult Education

The first question in this series, addressed to the total faculty, was quite general in content and designed to gauge the "conservative" or "radical" temper of their approach to adult education without asking them to specify the meaning of their responses. If in the table below, item 4 signifies their cautious objection to the vagueness of the questions and item 3 represents the "radical" temper, then the data portray the Downtown Center faculty as overwhelmingly conservative in their attitude toward the larger objectives of adult education (with Group II showing the greatest divergence of opinion among its members):

	Group I		Group II		Group III	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
1) Those believing that the objectives of education do not vary with age or nature of students	13	25	6	13	22	20
2) Those believing that objectives of all sorts of education may be the same, but that in some important ways these objectives should be modified for day-students vs. adults	24	46	27	57	59	54
3) Those believing that objectives of adult education should be substantially different from those established for day students	1	2	8	17	7	6
4) Those for whom none of the above statements suffices	13	25	7	15	19	17

The next question asked them to explore this matter of objectives more specifically and in terms of their own experience. Three factors important in current debates on the function of adult education were offered for their appraisal as most, less, or least important to them in determining the objectives of their courses downtown. (1) "Social and community problems" constituted the least important factor for approximately half of each of the three groups, and were most important for only 6 per cent of Group I, 11 per cent of Group II, and 5 per cent of Group III. About one out of four members of Groups I and III regard these problems as "less important" rather than "least important," but only one out of five members of Group II made that choice. (2) "Students' vocational needs" were most important for only one out of ten members of Group I, "less important" for half this group, and least important for

31 per cent. One out of four members of Group II, however, regarded vocational needs as most important, although the same number regarded them as least important. On the other hand, 16 per cent of Group III regarded vocational needs as most important, while 27 per cent of them regarded them as least important. (3) "Acquisition of subject-matter content and analytical skills" emerges without doubt as the most important factor determining course objectives at the Downtown Center. Approximately three-fourths of Groups I and III regard this factor as being most important, although 8 per cent of Group I and 4 per cent of Group III regard it as least important. And here again Group II differs from the other two: just over half of Group II (55 per cent) regard acquisition of content and skills as most important, 23 per cent regard it as less important (as opposed to 10 per cent and 12 per cent of the other two groups), and only 2 per cent regard it as least important.

Faculty members who teach or have taught regular day-time classes were then asked to indicate whether their ranking of the above factors would differ for their courses in day colleges. Five out of six members of Group I said they would not differ, while 12 per cent said they would differ considerably. But only one-half of Group II said they would make no change in assessing the importance of the three factors; nearly one-half of them said they would make significant readjustments of objectives for day-time classes. Group III, more conservative than Group II, by and large would make no change in course objectives, though one out of four said they would rank the above determining factors in a new way for their day-time classes.

On the whole, then, the Downtown Center faculty is conservative. Groups I and III tend to see little difference between the objectives of adult and non-adult education and the importance of the factors which determine those objectives; Group II, on the other hand, is prone to be more divided in these regards, and the division is not strictly between those who teach on the Quadrangles and those who hold research or administrative positions.

Classroom Techniques

Almost all teachers at the Downtown Center use some combination of discussion and lecture in the classroom. All regular faculty members (Group I) use some discussion, and one out of eight of them uses it exclusively (as opposed to one out of 50 members of Group II, and one out of

20 members of Group III). Over one-third of Group I eschew the formal lecture completely, as do a bit less than a third of Groups II and III. Group II devotes more time to the formal lecture than do the other two groups, while Group III seems to prefer more informal lecturing than straight discussion. On the whole, however, the total faculty devote half their classroom time to discussion, and about half to "informal" lecturing.

The faculty employ these combinations of lecturing and discussion primarily because they fit the subject matters of the various courses, not because their students are adults. Only about 12 per cent of the faculty claim to use discussion because it gives adults opportunities to express personal beliefs and problems. Even fewer teachers say their classroom techniques are determined by the "good" or "poor" academic background of their students.

Those members of the three groups who have taught regular daytime classes were asked to indicate how their uses of certain pedagogical devices changed when they taught adults.

Group I. Approximately one out of four members of this group attempts to make more use of adult students' experiences in the classroom than he would for younger students, and the same number place more emphasis on creating interest and curiosity in adult students. But only a fraction place more emphasis on inquiry and controversy, or employ a wider variety of methods. On the contrary, one-fourth of this group use fewer special techniques (e.g., films and field-trips) with adults. Two out of five members of Group I use fewer term papers, and over half use fewer "outside" reading materials. By and large, this group does not change significantly its pedagogical techniques when it teaches downtown, but it requires less library work and writing from adult students.

Group II. This group differs but slightly from Group I. It makes a bit more of an attempt to introduce a variety of special devices into the classroom and to utilize the experiences of adult students than does Group I, but for the most part the "associated faculty" employs the same number and nature of pedagogical techniques with its adult students as it does with other students.

Group III. Like Group I, Group III assigns fewer term papers in adult classes; but it also assigns more outside readings than does Group

I. It places considerably more emphasis on inquiry and controversy than does Group I. Along with the other two groups, Group III assigns fewer papers, makes more use of student experience.

Course-Content

Half the instructors in Group I claimed that there are no differences in the quantity or intellectual level in the content of their adult and non-adult courses. About 36 per cent said that the quantity was less and 27 per cent said that the level was lower, while 6 per cent insisted that they were both higher. About half make no attempt to adapt the content of their courses to the "ability level" of their classes, but 44 per cent said they do make such an effort. One-third said that they actually manipulate the content of their courses downtown in order to use students' life-experiences as part of the course; over half said that they make no such attempt. And one-third said that their courses for adults had greater flexibility than their regular courses: that is, these instructors change the content of courses after they are under way. Finally, about half the members of Group I place the same emphasis on theory and research methodologies in their courses downtown as they do in those taught on the Quadrangles; but 40 per cent said that they emphasize these factors less when they teach in the Loop.

These habits of Group I also prevail, by and large, in the other two groups. Fewer members of Group II lower the "intellectual level" of the content of their downtown courses (8 per cent of Group II as opposed to the 27 per cent of Group I and the 20 per cent of Group III); and more members of Group II and III make efforts to adapt content to "ability level" when they teach adults. Also, Group II and III tend not to decrease the emphasis on research and theory in their adult classes; a few assert that they emphasize research and theory more when they teach adults.

But in general, half the whole faculty makes no change in quantity, level, flexibility, or nature of the content of their courses when they teach at the Downtown Center.

Course Organization

Three factors were selected as being significant in determining how the organization of subject matter differed in courses taught in University College from those taught in regular day school. One might hypothesize that courses taught to part-time adult students would have less continuity with previous and future courses in the same field—that they would assume less preparation by the students, and would be conceived as "discrete" and terminal. Nearly half of all three groups said that this hypothesis was true, although approximately 40 per cent said that there was no difference in this regard between adult and other courses. One might also hypothesize that courses given in extension colleges would be so organized that they would have more relation with other broad subject-matter areas: that is, that they would be generalized or "syncretic" in nature. One in six members of Group I said that this was true, over half said that there was no difference in this regard between their day and evening courses, but over one-fifth said that, on the contrary, their evening courses were more strictly organized in terms of their own academic disciplines than were their day-time courses. Twice as many members of Group II and III, on the other hand, make more attempt to relate their extension courses to other academic disciplines (recall that more persons in these Groups were teaching non-credit, interdisciplinary courses than was the case with Group I); and only a minute fraction (as opposed to the 20 per cent of Group I) make fewer attempts along these lines. Thirdly, one might suspect that extension courses are organized around fewer elements or units than are regular courses. Yet, two out of three members of Group I said that there was no difference, while the other third did claim to reduce the number of organizational units. These proportions also hold good for members of Groups II and III.

In short, then, these data neither prove nor disprove the three hypotheses for the Downtown Center as a whole. The organization of courses by this faculty depends more upon the character of the group and the nature of the courses themselves than upon any generally held doctrine of practices.

Testing and Evaluation

Do teachers lower their standards of evaluation when they conduct extension courses? Do they rely less on formal examinations, more on other evaluating devices? Or do they tend to think that evaluation per se is less important when they teach adults? The following table records the answers for Groups I and II, that is, those members of the Downtown Center faculty who are also associated with the faculties of The University of Chicago. Thus, the table compares the standards and devices used by instructors at the Downtown Center with those which these instructors

In Terms of These Items, Adult Teaching Differs as Follows:	More or Higher				About Same				Less or Fewer			
	Group I		Group II		Group I		Group II		Group I		Group II	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
1) Use of formal tests	3	6	0	0	30	58	11	23	14	27	13	28
2) Use of comprehensive devices—term papers, etc.	2	4	4	9	24	46	9	19	19	36	12	26
3) Use of tests standardized by department, university examiner, outside agency, etc.	1	2	1	2	30	58	10	21	13	25	11	23
4) Number of high grades given	2	4	2	4	26	50	18	38	16	31	4	9
5) Number of low grades given	16	31	2	4	20	39	16	34	8	15	5	11
6) Emphasis on importance of final exam	9	17	2	4	28	54	13	28	10	19	10	21
7) Emphasis on importance of evaluation per se	2	4	2	4	29	56	14	30	14	27	6	13

employ at the Downtown Center's parent institution. Aside from its strong denial of any widespread lowering of grading standards in evening classes, this table, with its small areas of deviant responses and large areas of agreement, deserves to be scrutinized in detail by the reader. Almost every item in it might serve to provoke a variety of hypotheses.

Personal Opinion of the Faculty on The University's Role in Adult Education

Finally, as much for the sake of testing a hypothesis long held at the Downtown Center as for its general or intrinsic interest, a topic of intramural debate (in 1958) was broached to those persons (52 in Group I, 15 in Group II) who, having taught both downtown and on the Quadrangles, knew the merits of both worlds. The topic was, of course, Is adult education a proper function of The University of Chicago? The hypothesis was that most of those members of the Quadrangles faculties who seriously questioned the propriety of The University's continuing the work of the Downtown Center were comprised in two groups: the great majority, those who had not, themselves, ever taught there; a very small minority, those who had once had a bad class there. The data supplied by the questionnaire lend considerable support to this hypothesis. Of the 67 persons involved, 32 reported that teaching at the Downtown Center had changed their attitude favorably toward adult education, another 30 (none of whom were unfavorably disposed at the outset) said that their downtown experience had not changed their feelings on the matter, while only 4 (cf. the 4 who complained earlier that their students seldom met the challenge of their courses) reported a negative change in their attitude (one member of Group II did not reply). As to their present feelings about The University's commitment to adult education 54 regarded it as a proper function of The University (45 linked this opinion with their own enjoyment of adult teaching; 9 felt that they would, themselves, rather not teach adults), only 5 said that they had some doubts about the matter, though personally they enjoyed teaching adults, 8 felt that their attitude could not be described by any of these formulations, and none replied that they neither enjoyed teaching adults nor believed adult education to be a proper function of the university.

METROPLEX ASSEMBLY:

An Experiment in Community Education

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Executive Director,
Adult Education Association of the U.S.A.

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PREFACE

About ten years ago, I first heard the term Metroplex. In January, 1955, I was one of several administrators at Washington University who called upon our best sales techniques to entice Eugene Johnson from Valley College in San Bernardino, California to move to St. Louis. We were most eager for "Gene" Johnson to come to our city and our university, because we knew that one of the most creative new projects in liberal adult education at any time and at any place had evolved under his leadership. We hoped that the skills and arts he had employed in California would succeed equally well in our environment.

In the early 1950's, a Community Education Project at San Bernardino Valley College in Southern California, with widespread community interest and Dr. Johnson as director, utilized radio, newspapers, workshops and discussion groups. Various mass media supported each other. Methodology and programs were developed with new and exciting potentials.

The hope at Washington University in St. Louis a decade ago was that the widespread community enthusiasm, the involvement of comparatively large numbers of citizens from a broad spectrum of interests and backgrounds, the mass media of an urban complex (including both educational and commercial television, as well as outstanding daily newspapers) and also some of the pressing problems of a metropolitan community could somehow be reached by the approaches of the Metroplex Forum. The following essay enables you to share the efforts and successes of the St. Louis experiment. It is a book that had to be written and had to be published. I applaud both Eugene Johnson and the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults for making it available to us.

Each reader may be entitled to his own measuring device in judging the success of the Metroplex Assembly in St. Louis. Such matters as numbers of people involved, the ability to "make news" by its activities, and the widespread interest attracted from other communities obviously attest to dramatic accomplishments. Washington University's influence, moreover, pervaded segments of the community it had not before reached.

As the administrator to whom Eugene Johnson reported, I became aware of the tremendous demands upon his time by those wanting to learn techniques and approaches for them to take "back home." Numerous visitors and voluminous correspondence were unselfishly handled. The Regional Plan Association in New York "picked up" the Metroplex idea in its Goals for the Region Project and in Halifax, Nova Scotia, the Canadian Broadcasting Company now makes the Metroplex Assembly a regular summer feature.

One of the highlights of my professional life was the privilege of being at Washington University in St. Louis as the Metroplex Assembly was introduced, and as it flourished and demonstrated significant techniques and approaches for community education. As I relive in my memories the interesting developments about which you will be reading, I am deeply conscious that new concepts came into being, educational television made contributions for which it is uniquely capable, and the lives of citizens were touched as in no other educational venture.

Earnest Brandenburg
President, Drury College

FOREWORD

This report presents a brief history of the Metroplex Assembly and a critical examination of its operation. It is necessarily subjective and does not represent an official Washington University report on Metroplex Assembly, or the Civic Education Center under which it functioned. Though I tried to be objective, my own values and the filters through which I examine the situation unquestionably affect the report.

Many members of the administration, faculty, and staff were helpful throughout the five year period of the Metroplex Assembly. Many staff members, of course, worked hard and skillfully to make the operation successful. While it is impossible to record all their contributions, the author wishes to thank James McCrory, Louis T. Iglehart, Jr. and Charles Mundale for their part in scripting and producing the shows, and in preparing reading materials and discussion guides. Responsibility for forming Viewing Posts was expertly carried out by Civic Education Representatives. Joan Irby provided invaluable administrative assistance in too many ways to mention. Ruth Meyerpeter and Beverly Van Nest provided quality help in preparing material for duplication. Richard Hartzell willingly drew on his extensive experience in television to think through many a tough production problem.

Finally, University College, through its Dean, Ernest T. Brandenburg, was a sympathetic and helpful host for the Civic Education Center through these years.

The Metroplex Assembly and other activities of the Civic Education Center were supported by a series of grants from the Fund for Adult Education totaling $480,000, as well as funds from Washington University. The most recent grant, given in 1960, for $300,000, together with matching funds from the University will support the continuation of the program through June 1966.

I want to express gratitude to the officials of the Fund for Adult Education, who helped to work out the several grants to Washington University and followed developments in the program with friendly and constructive interest. I am particularly grateful to G. H. Griffiths, Vice-President and Treasurer of the Fund for Adult Education.

It is impossible to single out specific individuals in the St. Louis community who have given help and encouragement of many different kinds. Their number is legion. The Civic Education Center has tried to be a service center for many organizations and individuals who are working to improve community life; in return, it has been the recipient of unstinted support and assistance from many directions. To all of them go sincere thanks and the hope that the future will hold other opportunities for cooperation.

E. I. J.

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I

CONTEXT

The Metroplex Assembly story goes back to the fall of 1956. Washington University was in the early stages of its Second Century Development Program, a major effort directed toward strengthening both the financial base of education at Washington University, and the total program of education, research, and service. The University invited the writer to come to St. Louis (from San Bernadino, California, where a successful project in radio for a community discussion program had been organized,[1]) to develop a program that would further its objective of extending the University's educational influence to the surrounding metropolitan community. The University was specifically interested, among other things, in the use of television in concert with other media and activities.

A grant of $150,000 was obtained from the Fund for Adult Education to finance a series of experiments over a three year period. The essential purposes of the project as outlined in the grant were: (1) to produce two series of programs a year, each of six to eight programs in length; (2) to develop programs over a wide range of fields of interest and activity (including world affairs and the arts, as well as specific civic issues in the St. Louis metropolitan area); (3) to re-enforce and develop the theme of each television series through different kinds of related activities including conferences, newspaper articles, supplementary reading and others and (4) to provide systematic training opportunities for "Viewing Post" organizers and discussion leaders.

Civic Education Center

The University used the grant from the Fund for Adult Education to activate the mass media arm of a Civic Education Center on the planning board at Washington University. The concept of the Center, however, was considerably broader than the television work carried on later under the name of Metroplex Assembly.

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[1] The Community Education Project in San Bernadino Valley College of Southern California was associated with the Test City Project of the Fund for Adult Education, an independent organization established by the Ford Foundation in 1951. Informal listening and discussion groups were organized around a series of radio programs known as "Ways of Mankind." For full account, see The Community Education Project, A Four-Year Report, published by San Bernadino Valley College, San Bernadino, California, 1957.

The general rationale for the Civic Education Center was to provide a means whereby education resources could be focussed on the emerging needs of people living in the large urban concentrations that are becoming characteristic of our society. The word 'Civic' in the title of the Civic Education Center was intended to connote not the subject matter of the Center, but the context within which the educational activity would take place. In other words, it was believed that civic education should be that kind of education appropriate to free men in a free society. In order to be an effective citizen of a metropolitan area such as St. Louis, it was argued, a man must know a great deal about world affairs, national affairs, economic affairs and the arts as well as the specifics of his own particular civic locale. Thus, the Civic Education Center recognized from its outset the increasing interrelationship of all the interests of modern society and the extent to which the individual person must understand these, if he is to exercise any conscious and rational influence upon them.

Pilot Project: "Operation Greater St. Louis"

In the fall of 1957 a pilot project called "Operation Greater St. Louis" was put into operation to test out the educational potential in the use of television, possibly in concert with other media and activities, as an extension of the University's programming for the metropolitan community.

When the plans were broached, they were met with considerable skepticism in many parts of the University and even in the community at large. There was doubt that any sizable number of viewing groups could be organized around a series of television broadcasts. As one skeptic put it, "You'll find that St. Louis is a conservative community. What worked in Southern California won't necessarily work here."

On the other hand these were people who were quite ready to accept the idea. An important supporter was George Arms, the Director of Station KETC[2], who had already used part of the idea in a 1955-56 television-based community program, entitled "Housing Council Series." This series turned out to be almost a rehearsal for "Operation Greater St. Louis," incorporating some of its main features. In the Housing Council Series, for instance, viewers had been organized in groups to listen to a half hour program on TV in which issues and questions of common interest on the theme were raised. Listening to the TV presentation was followed by an hour of discussion in the groups, after which questions were phoned in to the station and answered on the same night on the second part of the TV show. The series was regarded as successful, even though at the most there were only about twenty-five Viewing Posts established.

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[2] KETC, an educational television station, although operated by an independent commission, had its station on the campus.

As a result of this experience there was in the fall of 1957, at the time "Operation Greater St. Louis" was launched, a group of people not only interested in trying out another TV project on a larger scale, but also with experience valuable to them in bringing "Operation Greater St. Louis" to life. For one thing, they now knew the general format. But they knew too that there must be quality TV programming if they were to get people to listen, and that they had to give careful attention to the matter of organizing and servicing the groups which gathered to watch the television programs. Ignoring or underestimating the need for adequate and skillful work in helping groups to organize was the single most common cause of failure in the housing series.

Keeping these lessons in mind, "Operation Greater St. Louis" was launched as a full scale experiment in TV community education. The theme around which the TV series was planned was, "Only better neighborhoods will make a greater St. Louis". The plan was to organize viewing posts throughout the city to discuss and react to issues of urban living in St. Louis as raised in TV broadcasts.

As co-sponsors with Washington University, "Operation Greater St. Louis" had the Citizens Council on Housing and Community Planning, the Inter-Association of Neighborhood Organizations, and KETC. A large number of other organizations agreed to endorse the idea and provide publicity for it, and Sears-Roebuck and Company in St. Louis provided a grant of $2,000 for a leadership conference to precede the television series.

Organizing Viewing Posts

For the establishment of viewing posts, the main task was the recruiting and training of the organizers. During the summer, this job became the primary responsibility of two of the part-time members of the staff of the Civic Education Center. They talked with the leaders and officers of as many organizations in the area as possible to secure their backing. The basic plan of these two part-time staff people was to secure names of potentially interested persons from such organizations as neighborhood councils, PTA's, churches, block units, settlement houses, service clubs, women's clubs of many different kinds, and business and labor. They then talked to these individuals and attempted to secure their commitment as active Viewing Post organizers[3]. These two Civic Education Representatives recruited seventy-eight Viewing Posts that persisted through the series.

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[3] With some modification and elaboration, this basic plan for organizing Viewing Posts has been followed ever since.

In the course of this phase of preparation, a source of possible trouble became apparent that is worth a moment of examination here. It was evidenced in the process of working through the project with the West End Community Conference which served thirty-seven blocks in the West End of the city of St. Louis and had the largest number of Viewing Posts. The Conference was attempting to cope with the problems associated with the increase in the number of in-migrants in St. Louis, and it saw the Viewing Posts as a means of stimulating interest in problems arising at the neighborhood level, and in developing new leadership for the neighborhood. This purpose was certainly accomplished, but some leaders of the West End Community Conference felt that the activity was actually competitive and tended to siphon off interest and leadership that might otherwise have been focussed on critical problems of that particular area.

This difference in outlook on the value of participation in any one TV series was a recurring theme, and in such a project it will always present a source of possible conflict. All individuals in charge of organizational work have to make the same kind of fundamental choice the West End area leaders faced. The choice is whether to put time and energy into winning friends and allies for problems too broad to be settled in the immediate neighborhood, or to put all the time and energy on those target-problems that are sufficiently limited that they can be settled in a particular neighborhood. This is an exceedingly difficult choice to make, requiring all the wisdom and insight people can develop. Each time the problem comes up it must be decided in terms of the particular situation.

In the West End Community Conference, for example, there could be little doubt that the need was primarily for city-wide understanding and help since it could not cope, within its own boundary lines, with such problems as the massive impace of the wave of in-migration on Metropolitan St. Louis, the transition of the area from an all-white to a mixed neighborhood and ultimately to a largely-Negro area, housing and code violations, and other serious conditions affecting the well-being of the neighborhood. These conditions reflected underlying concerns and trends of the metropolitan area as a whole. No one neighborhood by itself can hope to cope with problems of such magnitude. From this example, one can see the kind of bridge that the CEC hoped to build between local and metropolitan problems, enabling those persons working at the local level to understand their problems in terms of the metropolis, and contrariwise to enable persons with metropolitan wide problems to comprehend the conditions in the local community.

Leadership Training

The task of training discussion leaders in preparation for the program series was primarily achieved in a residential leadership training conference held at Wildwood Springs, a resort about ninety miles from St. Louis near Steelville, Missouri, in the foothills of the Ozarks. One hundred thirty-seven persons, mainly the Viewing Post organizers recruited during the summer, attended the leadership training conference. (There was no charge because of the grant of Sears, Roebuck and Company).

The staff hoped for three outcomes. First, they wanted to develop enthusiasm for the content of subject of the television series. Second, they wanted to increase the self-confidence of the organizers by providing them with some training in leading discussion. Third, they wanted to develop an esprit-de-corps among the people organizing the Viewing Posts and to help them to see the significance of the pioneer venture.

The program in the weekend conference was simple. All sessions were devoted to aspects of the content of the forthcoming series. Participants were formed into discussion groups of about twelve persons each. These groups met three times in order to give all participants an opportunity to get some experience in leading a discussion. An experienced team initiated the discussion at the first meeting and the group then passed the leadership on to inexperienced people designated ahead of time. Each person had fifteen to twenty minutes' experience in leading the discussion, and each session ended with an evaluation period. An experienced discussion-leader was assigned to each group as a resource person to help in the transfer of leadership and in the group's evaluation of its own discussion.

The conference generated a remarkable enthusiasm. The participants left thoroughly interested and ready for the forthcoming experience. It was later discovered that this conference, which included both white and Negro members, was the first racially-integrated residential conference held in Missouri.

Preparing Reading Materials

A third task central to the project was the preparation of study materials that included information about the city's new master plan, its housing and zoning codes and reports on two early rehabilitation projects, Cherokee and Hyde Park. Materials from ACTION, the national organization dedicated to helping cities solve problems associated with urban growth, were also included.

Linking Broadcast and Viewers

In the fall, "Operation Greater St. Louis" went on the air with a series of eight weekly broadcasts, each broadcast composed of two half-hour shows, separated by an hour of discussion in viewing-groups. Because of the limited budget, (only $50 per broadcast was assigned in the budget), the program inevitably took the form of a panel, moderated by George Arms, with some visuals supplied by various city agencies. KETC provided the time at no cost. The producer was Robert Miller, the producer of all Washington University programs at the time.

Two methods were used to link the Viewing Posts with the broadcasts, aimed at helping to achieve a good quality of discussion and providing for communication between the broadcasters and the members of the Viewing Posts. The first method was a weekly mailing to Viewing Post leaders which included both a discussion guide for future programs, news about developments, and a tabulation of questions that could not be answered on the air because of lack of time. The second method was an attempt to introduce live on the camera, during the second half of the broadcase, representatives (called "runners") of the Viewing Posts. The opportunity to send a "runner" to the television station was rotated among the interested Viewing Posts, since no more than ten at a time would actually be able to present a question. The hope was that the runners would give Viewing Posts greater visibility, thereby heightening the sense of identification with the program on the past of the Viewing Posts.

Although this was an interesting concept, it proved unworkable in practice and was abandoned after the pilot project. Not all representatives of Viewing Posts were able and articulate spokesmen. Furthermore, the questions were not always the most important questions that the whole range of Viewing Posts wanted to ask that particular envening, and often they duplicated each other. The mechanics of trying to arrange for participation by different Viewing Posts and to brief representatives who appeared at the station also proved to be burdensome. It was interesting, novel, but quite clearly not worth the time and effort expended on it.

The experience with runners, however, highlighted a factor of critical importance. While the second television broadcast on the same evening may be designed as 'feedback' for the Viewing Posts, it also has to qualify as a good television program in its own right. Viewing Posts will not watch the program simply because it provides feedback. The questions asked and the discussion of them must be focussed, interesting, and meaningful, if the interest of the participants is to be sustained.

When "Operation Greater St. Louis" was completed, it had demonstrated convincingly the fact that good television programming supported by adequate community organization work would lead to the formation of active Viewing Posts in the alleged stronghold of conservatism in the Midwest. And, what in the long run was perhaps even more signifant, the main outline for Metroplex Assembly had been drawn.

II

THE METROPLEX ASSEMBLY IDEA

In the Spring of 1958 the Metroplex Assembly, operated by the Civic Education Center of Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri, started in operation.

The Metroplex Assembly was conceived as a demonstration in the use of television. Its basic aim was to help the people of a metropolitan area reestablish a sense of community and to carry on an inquiry about fundamental values and issues related to the quality of living in contemporary urban America.

The central feature of Metroplex Assembly was an annual series of weekly television programs, each broadcast pinpointing a different aspect of a common theme or problem--urban renewal or foreign policy, for instance. The weekly half hour programs were directed primarily toward informal discussion groups, meeting as Viewing Posts in private homes, church halls, classrooms, clubrooms, neighborhood centers and other places where prople can gather. The half hour television program was followed by an hour of discussion in the Viewing Posts. A second half-hour of television followed the discussion period. During the second broadcast, a panel of experts replied to questions and comments which were telephoned in to the station during the discussion hour.

In this way, television served to link the discussion groups, which were scattered throughout the St. Louis metropolitan area (including portions of both Missouri and Illinois) with one another in a kind of modern 'Town Meeting'.

"Metroplex Assembly" has become a familiar word in St. Louis life. It has been used by a number of writers in the newspapers and other publications of the area. It has been used by congressmen, and it has been widely used by leaders in the many different fields of local community activity. It has been borrowed and applied in such metropolitan areas as Omaha. It was used as a title of a film produced in Pittsburgh. The Canadian Broadcast ing Corporation is even now, carrying on a series of programs in Halifax, Nova Scotia under the title of "Metroplex".

In the beginning the program series was called "Decisions 1958." It seemed desirable, however, to give some kind of a continuing title to the activity. The term "Metroplex" had been devised in San Bernardino, California to describe a similar kind of radio program there. It seemed to apply equally well to the complex of neighborhoods and communities that make up the St. Louis metropolitan area. The word "Assembly" was added, at the suggestion of Richard Hartzell, Director of Washington University's

Film, Radio and Television Activities. This term seemed to describe the coming together of all interested persons, agencies and organizations of community life in the search for more effective solutions to community problems and for new patterns with which to improve and enrich community life.

Underlying Assumptions

The rationale of the Metroplex Assembly rests on a set of assumptions and attitudes about the nature of contemporary society, the educational process, and communication. These may be summarized as follows:

About Contemporary Society

The most important domestic force affecting our society at the present time is the continuing urbanization and industrialization of the United States. The concentration of our population in metropolitan areas has, on the one hand, made obsolete many of the patterns and institutions that have long served our people, and on the other hand, has upset the familiar rhythm of daily life without providing an adequate substitute. One indication of the inadequacy of established American folkways in the face of enormous change wrought by rampant urbanization has been withdrawal of large numbers of people from active participation in community and national life.

Many of the specific social ills that plague us are really symptomatic of an underlying social disintegration. Such perplexing problems as juvenile delinquency, mental illness, crime, mounting divorce rates and the non-participation of people in crucial elections at the local level are traceable, in part, to the social change taking place in our society at the moment.

Strong local communities in the United States from which people draw satisfaction and a sense of fulfillment and in which they take great pride are as essential as strong loyalty to the Nation. An homogenized national culture in which life and customs in every part of the country are like those in every other part, would be a national disaster, if indeed it were possible. An organism as complex as the United States must be made up of many healthy organs, each performing its own part in the life of the Nation.

Thus, the restoration--or perhaps the creation--of a sense of community among the varied population elements and diverse institutions that make up a modern metropolitan area is essential to progress in any direction at the local level. The poor or non-existant state of communication among agencies and institutions engaged in planning for modern communities, and the breakdown of communication between the people and any one of those agencies is a clear sympton of the absence of a sense of community.

About the Educational Task

Experience and repeated research have shown that adults turn to formal classes mainly for vocational and avocational interests. Civic or public affairs draw a regrettably limited response when cast in the form of organized classes. Furthermore, the adults who respond most readily to organized civic study groups are drawn from the workhorse of our society--the middle class.

Attitudes and opinions held by individuals on crucial social issues are a product of the total culture; they cannot be artificially created in a classroom. Desired changes in individual attitude and behavior must be anchored in one or more social groups (family, friends, work, colleagues, church etc.) important in the life of the individual.

Communication--and certain kinds of education--occur better in informal fairly small homogeneous groups such as friendship groups that people themselves create.

We have to harness the kinds of things people want to do and, in fact, actually undertake, to the important task of education for public responsibility. Often, this will mean experimentation with methods of education and a subsequent lack of tight control by the educating agency or group. We assume that the good judgment of people will normally prevail if communication is good. "Good" judgment here means that judgment which is supported by common sense and the social values of our society.

Since it is impossible to reach one hundred percent of a metropolitan population, it is necessary to have a clear understanding of who should be reached to penetrate the total population and to develop appropriate strategy to accomplish this. A crucial target in any educational program will be the people who make decisions and have access to organizational resources. The devclopment of communication among these people and common concept of the task to be accomplished will help to move the community toward action goals.

About Mass Communication

To the originators and directors of Metroplex Assembly, television seemed to offer unique opportunities for reaching people who otherwise are divided into many fragments by different governmental boundary lines, economic interests, religious, racial and ethnic groupings and other factors that have a devisive effect. The mass media can focus on the interests these people have in common.

The mass means of communication--the newspaper, radio and television stations--help to define the geographic area within which a sense of community may be possible (and parallel institutions developed). The effective range of a television station, without booster stations, is about the same as the boundaries of a large metropolitan area.

Communication via the mass media works only if a two-way process exists, so that the broadcasts reflect some systematic feedback of audience reaction and interest.

Communication does not take place simply because radio and television programs are broadcast and newspapers printed. The reception of the material offered needs to be organized and its study encouraged. Given the diversity of the material offered to people and the need to overcome the built-in screening mechanism that blocks perception of important news, we need to turn as much time and effort to the task of organizing the reception of mass media offerings as we do to their preparation or broadcast.

The different mass media have different functions to perform in reaching the people. The unique capacities of each medium need to be understood so that each medium can be effectively used in relation to other media and in relation to various educational services.

A high level of quality in both the production and broadcasting of television programs is essential to success. We dare not assume people will watch a program which is poorly produced simply because the topic is supposedly of interest.

The Community's Role in Metroplex Assembly

A Metroplex Assembly series is not "plotted out" on campus, then "packaged", "laid on" the community and "sold" to any potential Viewing Post organizer who will buy. Rather it is built slowly, out of material the community itself provides. The outlines of a particular series are not "constructed", but are "discovered" in the realities of community conflict through the research of the initial planning period.

There are two interrelated steps that culminate in the organization of the community for participation in a Metroplex Assembly project. First the community is involved in the selection of a general theme, and in defining the questions (always with an eye open for possible follow-up post-series opportunities for social and individual action) and second, the establishment of Viewing Posts (i.e., the recruitment and training of Viewing Post leaders).

Selecting a Theme and Defining the Questions

Let us consider the first of the two steps in organizing the participation of the community, that of the selection of the theme and defining the questions. The first part of the task is to identify clearly a particular issue as it actually exists in the area. To do this the staff poses three questions to itself. The first is, "What basically is at issue in the complex of the community's decision-making process?". Second, "How do major community forces perceive the problem, and how do they see their roles in its resolution?" And, third, "Who in the community is 'involved' and why."

It is essential to find an accurate answer to what is the basic issue. If the original conclusion about the basic issue (or issues) is sound, it will provide a 'natural' point of development for the television programs, and the readings and discussion guides. It will also tend to focus discussion in the Viewing Post. If the original opinion about the ways in which major community agencies perceive the problem and conceive their roles in it is generally correct, it is relatively easy to involve them in planning for a series, and in coordinated action to take advantage of interest and opportunities while the series is in progress and after completion, as well. And, finally, to the extent that original estimations about the involvement of various community groups are accurate, there will be few 'surprises' in the actual recruitment of Viewing Posts for a series, and a minimum of waste in recruitment and promotional effort in any given population group.

In effect, each of these points says something about the other, and they are arrived at jointly, during an initial planning period of "program research," which is a rather grand term for "talking to practically everyone with a direct stake in the problem" and then trying to put together what the staff has discovered. In practice, the designation of an "initial planning period" is, in part, artificial, since in the course of program preparation, planning and recruitment, valuable information is continually being unearthed and exchanged, and the refinement of the "basic premises" goes on.

Thus 'initial planning period' is, in reality, just a handy designation for that time in which it is wise for the staff members to rough out the common task, before making even a tentative commitment to their separate program tasks. The search for a program theme demands some knowledge of the situation of major agencies and the perceptions of citizens about a problem area; the cooperation of major community agencies in planning, utilizing, and following up a series depends in large part on how "the issue" is defined and how effectively it can be related to the current interests of the concerned layman; the problem of citizen interest, in turn, is closely related to how the issue is defined and how it is seen to affect the agencies or program areas with which active citizens are concerned.

None of the basic activities in planning a Metroplex Assembly can be developed in a vacuum. After a certain point, they do become "firm" enough so that the staff members can begin pursuing their separate operational tasks. But the working assumptions do not "freeze" at that point, nor does communication among staff members stop. The community organizer, after a meeting with labor leaders, or PTA members, may return with an important piece of "program news" for the television producer. The television producer, in turn, out of the discipline of trying to turn a rough assumption about "the issue" into a series of filming plans and television scripts, will probably come up with an important perception about the nature of the issue which directly affects the work of the community organizer.

But in any community, at any point in time, there are dozens of areas of conflict to which such a discussion series could be devoted. If only one subject can be handled, which one should it be? And on what basis should it be chosen?

One obvious criterion for a program seeking relatively "mass" participation among all kinds of citizens is that the problem area be one of rather wide interest in the community at the time the series will take place. In two of the St. Louis series, elections provided the focus of timeliness: one, on the problems of metropolitan government, immediately preceded a referendum on a concrete proposal for a metropolitan service district[2];

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[2] See Section V page 30 for description of this series on "The Metropolitan District Plan" for illustration of how election issues focus attention, and how questions are "discovered".

another, on five major national political issues, preceded the 1960 election and featured the area's Democratic and Republican Congressional candidates.

Elections are easy because they focus community attention on themselves; they are "coercive evidence" that a problem area is important and demands attention now, both in terms of focussing community attention and in terms of "making the program" decision for a Metroplex Assembly series. There is not much point in trying to do a series on something else during the months preceding an important election.

Without the focussing effect of an election, it is more difficult to identify a problem area restricted enough to be manageable and sufficiently timely to make it possible for a Civic Education Center, in cooperation with other community agencies, to achieve a high degree of community focus. What is "timely" is ultimately a matter of staff judgment, and in this sense, subjective. Significant themes "assert themselves" into the foreground, but final judgment is reached only after thorough consultation with the full range of key professional and lay community leaders with whom the CEC works regularly in the course of its normal activities. Part of this "consultation" occurs spontaneously, in the course of working on a program series. At other times, the consultation is formal, taking for example the form of luncheons with leaders of informal "sponsoring" agencies and organizations.

Just as important as the project-related consultations are the informal social contacts that were maintained by CEC staff members. The professional staff members of the St. Louis Center moved in different social groups, and maintained a variety of different "avocational" ties in the community. The result was an enormously helpful variety of experience and perception, of a kind that could be gained no other way. It becams apparent to the staff, and it must be understood by anyone planning a project like Metroplex Assembly, that much face-to-face discussion is essential, if the staff is to get any sense of the way an issue is shaping up or a problem being defined. Thus conversation and the careful staff assimiliation of what it means takes an enormous amount of time.[3]

Organizing Viewing Posts

How do you organize Viewing Posts? This is the question most frequently asked by persons interested in drawing on Metroplex Assembly experience. It should be made clear first of all that the organization of Assembly Viewing Posts is so interrelated with the other tasks of community organization (selecting a theme and defining the question) that the success or failure of Viewing Post recruitment cannot be viewed apart from the success achieved in the other two areas.

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[3] In Section V page 32 description of series entitled "The New Immigrants" illustrates this process.

To repeat what has certainly been implied previously, time and effort poured into the organization of Viewing Posts, will be wasted if not paralleled with appropriate time, energy, and unity of approach directed toward the selection of a theme and the organization of the community for participation in defining the problem operatively and exploiting the action opportunities implicit in increased community awareness.

The experience in the St. Louis program was that the organizing of Viewing Posts divides into three broad categories: (1) the selection and training of staff, to act as Civic Education Representatives; (2) the development of an overall strategy for recruiting Viewing Post organizers, regardless of the theme of any particular series; and (3) the tactics developed for any particular series.

The budget at first allowed for two full-time community organizers, each presumably to give the major part of his time to Viewing Posts recruitment. An early staff decision, however, was to employ only one full-time staff member for community organization, and to use the remaining funds available to employ a number of persons for shorter periods of time.

In our Center, Civic Education Representatives since 1958 never numbered fewer than four for any series and never more than seven. Initially, they were recruited from a variety of sources. Some were wives of Washington University faculty or staff members, others were recommended by St. Louis organizations who took an early interest in the growth of the Metroplex Assembly, and the rest were individuals who came to the attention of the staff through a variety of channels. Three CER's (their full title was always abbreviated) helped with the first series on foreign policy. Others were added or changed as the need appeared.

CER's were employed, customarily, for periods of three or four months. They worked for three or four hours a week at the outset, gradually increasing the tempo and amount of their activity as the start of the series drew near; under this arrangement, CER's were paid a flat or 'contract' rate for the series. In all, to repeat, they worked the equivalent of three or four months for each series. They remained on the job, once the series had begun, to serve the Viewing Posts and to record for CEC their observations and experiences.

CER's were trained through a program consisting of an orientation to the purposes and procedures of the Assembly, methods of leading discussions (since they had subsequently to train others in this art), and techniques of observing and helping Viewing Posts. Weekly staff meetings gave the CER's an opportunity to raise questions growing out of their work, to exchange experiences and reactions and to discuss with different staff members the effectiveness of different parts of total assembly operation.

Each CER turned in a final report which described the approach to recruiting, the information discovered about the portion of the community assigned, the results of observations and suggestions for future procedures.

The strategy for recruiting viewing Post organizers was based on the conception of the Metroplex Assembly as a mechanism whereby all the different kinds of people that made up the population of the St. Louis metropolitan area could participate in the search for solutions to the problems the area faced and ways to enrich contemporary life. The St. Louis area has a population in excess of two million people. Since only a tiny fraction of the population would ever participate in an Assembly, it became important to have a concept of participation and to devise a strategy that would make the concept operational.

The concept was to recognize major divisions in the metropolitan population; the strategy was to assign appropriate CER's to the major divisions or segments. The rationale behind the 'segment' approach was that the different segments would have strong internal ties reinforced by emotional loyalties, internal communication channels, and identifiable leaders. Sometimes the segment would be little more than a label for a group of autonomous individuals--women who work, for example. Some segments--the Catholic community, for example--are so large and complex that they have numerous semi-autonomous groups within the community: the Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Women, the Council of Catholic Men, the Committee of Parish Priests for urban renewal, the different religious orders (the Society of Jesuits, for example), the elementary and secondary school system for the Archdiocese, to mention only a few. The Protestant community too is divided into a large number of denominations, some of which belong to the Metropolitan Church Federation and some of which do not. All have special circumstances that must be understood if the denominations are to be effectively involved, first in the process of selecting a Metroplex theme and later in actually recruiting Viewing Post organizers. The same statement could be made of the AFL-CIO Central Labor Council with its membership of large and powerful individual unions. The Railroad Brotherhoods constitute a special situation and the Teamsters, while nationally known, present particular problems in St. Louis.

Most CER's were assigned several segments. The task was to explore and map out the population segment; identify its suborganization, its leadership and its communication channels, including details about any publications serving the population.

Since resources were always inadequage to cover all population segments, each series raised anew the question of which groups to work with most closely. Those series that emphasized features in the physical environment suggested close relations with neighborhood planning organizationa, and with such area organizations as the Metropolitan Plan Association. Series that considered issues of human values or cultural questions would tend to involve groups such as the PTA's (they were a major source of strength for the 1960 Spring series on "A Mirror for the Family," in which teenage views of life came under scrutiny); and community art and music circles which became involved in the 1959 series of the arts and city living, "The Humane City."

CER's were encouraged to develop their own plan for working with each population segment. Individual conferences with the full-time staff member responsible for community organization and weekly meetings of CER's provided opportunities for each CER to ask for suggestions and to try out approaches on fellow staff members.

Thus a great many different kinds of approaches were used. Some CER's relied largely on short presentations to organized groups (labor unions, for example) at regularly scheduled meetings. Others arranged special events for both small and large numbers of persons in their fields of responsibility. All had scores of conversations with individuals influential in the community to help interpret the program of the Assembly and to obtain that insight into the thinking of those persons that proved so invaluable to the entire staff in designing television programs, public meetings, readings, and other events.

Illustrations of the diversity of the activities that the CER's arranged are a tea for officers of the parish units of the Council of Catholic Women, a day-long institute, attended by 176 officers of block units affiliated with the St. Louis Federation of Block Units, serviced professionally by the St. Louis Urban League, and a roundtable for members of a local union, to get them interested in the forthcoming series on the in-migrants.

Regardless of the different methods employed by CER's, however, their objective was the same: to secure the signature of a St. Louis resident on a Viewing Post registration card. This card was a moral commitment by one person to establish a Viewing Post. The registration cards, in turn, became the chief source of the weekly mailing list and a means of further contact to determine whether the promised Viewing Post had actually materialized and, if so, the kind of experience it was having.

All of the CER's needed quantities of promotional material to distribute at meetings and to mail out to interested persons. All of them developed long lists of persons who had been suggested as potential organizers of Viewing Posts. All of them spent long hours on the telephone describing the work of the Assembly and the forthcoming series to potentially interested persons. The success or failure of any Assembly effort was largely dependent on the energy and ingenuity of the CER's.

Although CER's worked much with formal organizations, it should be stressed that the membership in any single Viewing Post was not restricted to members of any one organization. Viewing Post organizers were encouraged to look for members for Posts among:

- his friends
- his family
- his neighbors
- his fellow workers
- members of his church
- members of a hobby group (a camera club, for example)
- civic groups or committees on which he served

The CEC experience, like the earlier experience in San Bernardino, California, indicated that access to the formal organizations of a community merely provided an organized way of looking for Viewing Post organizers; the members might come from anywhere. Indeed, the staff has rarely found a Viewing Post that consisted entirely of persons drawn from the same organization, with the exception of high school groups.

The fact that Viewing Posts tended to represent a broad section of St. Louis life was surprising and sometimes distressing to formal organizational leaders. The West End Community Conference, for example, encouraged its members to form Viewing Posts in the belief that the Posts would then continue as the nucleus of a strong block unit. The Conference leaders were chagrined to find that participants in many of the Posts reflected the wide range of associations of the persons who organized them rather than the residents of one block or one particular neighborhood. The CER's emphasized the value of friendship among participants in the Post as a strong cohesive factor. They encouraged organizers to invite people for a social evening as well as a discussion meeting. "Friendship" groups tended to be more persistent, than those based in one association.

Special events were arranged by the Center and timed to help the CER's in their task of recruiting View Post organizers. A 'kick-off' conference was held at the start of the recruiting period, and later public releases and other special events were arranged.

One final word, the Center staff has often been asked whether volunteers could not take on the task of the CER's and thereby cut down on the organizing costs. This is an attractive idea, but five years of work in St. Louis, together with four earlier years in San Bernardino, have convinced this writer that volunteers will never be as effective as the paid worker. The person who is a paid staff member has a sense of obligation and a willingness to stick with difficult tasks that few volunteers have. The pay also often helps CER's to meet expenses that would otherwise distract them from their work. It pays for baby sitting fees, car operating expenses, minor social events, etc. Most CER's would hesitate to incur these expenses were they not assured of some reimbursement.

III

DEVELOPING GOOD DISCUSSION IN THE VIEWING POSTS

The Civic Education Center had from its beginning a heavy commitment to group discussion. The Metroplex Assembly was the major means by which the Center met this commitment. In looking back over the experience of the Metroplex Assembly, three kinds of concerns seem to have shaped the work of the Assembly with regard to discussion. These were:

> To discover precisely what value discussion holds for the individual and what role it plays in the life of the neighborhood.
>
> To become precise about the characteristics of a good discussion at a View Post.
>
> To be inventive in discovering effective ways of building knowledge about group discussion into a practical training and service pattern for organizers or leaders of View Posts.

Values of Discussion

Discussion appears to be the way by which an individual shapes and reshapes his view of the world--his understanding of the forces that work in society, his perception of his fellowman, and his own role in the busy world around him. It would be foolish indeed to deny the value of other means of adult education for enlarging and shaping the world of the individual, but discussion seemed to the CEC staff the way by which information, ideas, and insight come to be anchored in an individual's personal world and related to his whole previous store of experience.

It is possible that individuals come to conclusions and are equally well-motivated in other ways, but the point is that the discussion group provides each person with an opportunity to examine important concepts or ideas or problems and test his own thinking about them. Through the discussion, he ties new understandings and information to previous experience and thus extends his comprehension of the world or some important issue. When the base of a program is a television broadcast, studies have pointed to the need not only to draw the attention of individuals to the mass media offerings, but also to find some way to make clear their importance and meaning for the individual. The assumption of Metroplex Assembly was that the discussion group at a Viewing Post was the practical means for achieving this second end.

To back up its assumptions, the staff consulted the people who had participated in discussion at Viewing Posts. A number of individuals, who had not previously met, came together at a conference called by the Civic Education Center in connection with a forthcoming Metroplex Assembly series. Members were divided into small groups to discuss the advantages they saw in the linking of discussion and television broadcasts. The conclusions of these talks can be summarized as follows:

> Discussion based on television broadcasts provided purposeful, stimulating and profitable group gatherings rather than general confabs where "just talk" goes on.
>
> The viewer has a participating role and is not merely a passive observer of a broadcast.
>
> Discussion of a program helps people to establish a sense of priority among a number of issues and ideas competing for their attentions.
>
> It helps to reduce or correct misunderstandings that can arise because of faulty communication; i.e. in Viewing Post discussion, wrong impressions receive appraisal and things that are said are immediately pinned down.
>
> Discussion in View Posts provides the medium whereby "concern becomes contagious."

In general, participating in a discussion group--or better still organizing one-gives the individual something he can do, and helps to relieve some of the frustrations that many of the vast and complex conditions of modern life generate.

Factors in a Good Discussion

Anyone who has worked with discussion groups will smile at the attempt to reduce the measurement of the quality of discussion to a statistical formula. The attempt would be about as futile as describing the quality of a rose by gathering information on the number of petals, the volume of scent in the air around the rose and the number of bees clustering around it. Nonetheless, the Metroplex Assembly staff felt it important to determine whether a number of individuals observing Viewing Post meetings simultaneously would come up with any conclusions that were in any way comparable. If so, could these conclusions lead to clearer ideas about the important aspects of discussion that should be emphasized in future training operations? Sixteen members of a graduate class in methods of social science research and several volunteers from the group of Civic Education Representatives were organized into teams to observe the Viewing Posts. They were provided with prepared schedules on which to record their observations and conclusions on three aspects of discussion: participation, relevance, depth.

With respect to the first of these, participation, observers were asked to note in several ten minute periods the number of persons who actually became involved and the manner of their involvement. Were the remarks of any one individual addressed to another individual, to the leader, to the entire group? The observers concluded that group climate necessary to encourage participation in discussion can be easily developed; and that, the self-discipline required to keep participants' comments brief requires little effort, provided that the ego needs of individuals are met in other ways. But, on the other hand, both climate and self-discipline are highly perishable, and they require regular attention from the group, perhaps through the organizer or leader, if each meeting of the group is to be successful.

The relation to the second factor of good discussion, relevance, observers watched to see whether comments by group members were relevant to the issue under discussion. For example, did the remark of a group member relate to the comment immediately preceding it and interlock with it in some manner; did it agree or disagree or extend the meaning of a previous comment in some significant way? Observers found differences in degrees of relevance related to differences among Viewing Post members in perception and mental rapidity. In one group, for instance, an observer noted an ambiguous use of the phrase "over the hill" in a discussion of the availability of cultural activities in the area. In later conversation, he discovered this meant physical movement to some members (as going over Art Hill by the City Art Museum) and to other members it meant a point in the lifetime of a person, i.e. an individual goes 'over the hill' sometime between middle age and retirement age. Passage of this point supposedly affected the individual's capacity to enjoy the cultural activities of the area. Differences in perception occur constantly in discussion and are both a source of frustration and a stimulating reminder of the highly personal filter through which each person looks at the discussion. Some persons' minds work at a slower rate than others, or at least some people come to the point of stating a conclusion or feeling more slowly than others. This uneven mental rate leads some individuals to introduce conclusions that have shaped up in their minds after the discussion has actually moved beyond the point at which their comments were relevant. However, participants in discussion groups can be trained to be more conscious of this differential among individual minds and the impact of such differences on the ability to achieve focus in a discussion.

In relation to judging depth in a discussion, observers were asked to look for three kinds of evidence. First, did the participants tend to probe for the meaning and validity of comments offered? Second, what evidence was there that the background materials provided by the Civic Education Center in the discussion had been read in advance of the discussion? And, third, were members drawing on other sources of information and insight, such as the daily newspaper, books from the public library, classes, experiences at work, in the home or during travel? The observers found generalizations about the depth of discussion difficult to make. It is possible, they finally agreed, to recognize depth in a discussion when it is present, but this relates so much to the frame of reference in which both individual members and the group as a whole operate that conclusions are not applicable from group to group. The observers did watch, as previously stated, for evidence that reading material was introduced into the discussion and that people were drawing on a variety of life experiences and other learning situations.

Inventive Approaches to Discussion Training

The third concern of the staff was to try to be inventive in the way they introduced to the viewing post organizers knowledge about the role of discussion. In general, experience of the Metroplex Assembly led the staff to two convictions. First, it was necessary to work constantly at the task of increasing the discussion skill of group members as well as of group organizers or leaders. Second, it was impossible to train adequately all the organizers of Viewing Posts and for that reason, it was necessary to reduce the dependence of the Viewing Posts on the skill of a single leader. Ways and means had to be found to make participation in the Assembly the primary training experience. The staff and associated volunteers worked in both of these directions at the same time.

Certain factors, the staff finally decided, need to be emphasized in the training program in order to increase skill and quality of discussion: proper group size, awareness of the task to be accomplished, the necessary climate, skill in using resources provided by the Civic Education Center of the community (e.g. discussion guides, reading materials and resource persons). The staff also discovered that training could be more effectively carried on and individuals more highly motivated to participate in it if the substantive areas of forthcoming series were emphasized in the training. While some members of the Viewing Posts might be ready and prepared to take on any topic or issue simply because of a general interest in discussing, most participants needed first to be convinced of the importance of the subject. This attitude had an important implication for training design.

In general, training sessions were aimed to achieve the following ends: 1) An intensive exploration of the substantive issues to be discussed during the forthcoming series, 2) a demonstration of the methodology of the Metroplex Assembly, 3) an introduction to the theory of group discussion, and 4) an analysis of the relevance of the Metroplex Assembly and the topic of the forthcoming series for the process of community development.

Many formats for discussion training are possible. In St. Louis, at different times, we used week-end institutes away from the city at a secluded location, shorter institutes or training sessions held on campus, clinics addressed to problems in discussion identified by the members of Viewing Posts, small group meetings of Viewing Post organizers or leaders with CER's and other Civic Education Center staff members and persons especially trained in discussion, reading material on group discussion (much included in the Viewing Post organizers' handbook), exchange of visits among representatives of Viewing Posts, evaluation of Viewing Posts' discussions led by CER's or persons especially trained in discussion, and evaluation meetings when a particular activity had been concluded. All training programs were designed to serve also two side purposes; to publicize the forthcoming series in the greater St. Louis area by an event (the training session) that made news, and to stimulate thought and conversation o the subject of the forthcoming series.

The CEC staff concluded after the first three years of experience that it would never be possible to provide adequate training for all Viewing Post organizers. It was difficult to get them to attend training conferences in large numbers. Also a sizeable number of Viewing Post organizers decided to launch a group at the last minute, or fail to notify the CEC about their plans in time. Accordingly, the staff sought a design for Metroplex Assembly that would reduce the dependence of the group on the organizer or leader.

The plan decided on was actually quite simple; it was based on promoting a sense of interrelatedness among participating groups. Although the several hundred Viewing Posts were scattered throughout the area, they were seen to constitute one body of interested people engaged in a common experience, and they were treated as interdependent units.

One way this interdependence was underlined was by stressing in all the newsletters going out to the groups, the value of participating in the second part of the broadcast by phoning in questions, and listening for the different kinds of questions and comments submitted from all parts of the metropolitan area. Participants were encouraged to discuss questions suggested at the end of the first part of the presentation, and later in the second half, to focus on submitting a question which the group thought was the most important to be discussed, or the one that most perplexed or baffled the group.

The opinion ballot was another means of making the interdependence of Viewing Posts visible. These ballots presented alternative choices on several important issues, with space for the viewer to indicate his choice. They were mailed out to the Viewing Post organizers who in turn distributed them to group members. The responses were mailed back to the Civic Education Center where they were tabulated. The results were then distributed to the Viewing Posts, to the newspapers, to the radio and television stations in the area, and to the agencies and organizations most concerned with the reaction of viewers.

There can be no question that this constant attempt to stress the totality of the Assembly did make a significant impression on many Viewing Posts. Their comments reflected an awareness of the different kinds of questions submitted, the different kinds of interests held by different groups who participated in the series. Many groups commented on the extent to which their awareness of the diversity of opinions was increased by these techniques.

A few people remained skeptical of the totality of the Assembly concept and referred to it as a mystical entity, existing only in the minds of the CEC staff. Whether they are right or wrong, focussing of the discussion on the search for significant questions and use of the opinion ballot did help to lessen the dependence of the group on the skill of an individual group leader and made the group more responsive to cues provided either through the mail or via television from the Civic Education Center office.

The difficulties that the staff has encountered with the training issue underlines one truth. People--certainly those represented in the Viewing Posts--seem much more interested in substantive issues and the possibility of accomplishing something tangible than they are in acquiring the skills of discussion. If discussion is to be an accepted and integral part of American life, it must be related to those needs, problems, and interests which people already want to do something about or can be induced to want to do something about.

IV

PRODUCING THE TELEVISION SHOW

The central element in the Metroplex Assembly was the use of television in a community education effort. Thus, we were early confirmed in our conviction that the whole effort suffers if the television production is poor. If this seems an unnecessary statement of the obvious, it is made because many persons seem to assume that the effort expended on community organization will automatically insure an audience for the television broadcast, no matter what its quality may be. Possibly the push of effective community organization can carry an activity such as Metroplex through an occasional poor television performance, but viewer interest will fall and participation suffer if the television production is consistently poor or mediocre. The quality of the television production is crucial.[1]

Behind the Center's approach to television has been the conviction that the most important part of television production does not involve money- except the salary of the producer,[2] but does involve considerable thought and hard work. This is a problem of organization.

The Center takes modest pride in the fact that all of its programs that have been completely or partially filmed ahead of broadcasting, have been subsequently used by other television stations in their public service programs. Schools, universities and many organizations have also requested them for program material.

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[1] The Civic Education Center hoped in its initial planning that KETC, Channel 9, would assume the responsibility of producing the television broadcasts. Station philosophy at that time and economic problems soon made it apparent that this would not lead to high-quality programming. The Center, therefore, decided to assume the responsibility for producing its own programs, and it retained a professional staff.

[2] The Staff was convinced that money invested in an able and imaginative producer is better than money invested in elaborate production efforts which are not imaginatively conceived, effectively organized and focussed, and efficiently carried out. The Center has never had more than $2,000 per weekly program for and series, and it has had that amount only when the series contemplated considerable advance filming in order to assure a tighter and more sharply-focussed program. The more usual budget, when filming has not been involved, has been two or three hundred dollars per broadcast.

Aside from the financial matter, the Metroplex Assembly has always been caught between the cross-fire of community groups interested in the subject under discussion and academic people viewing the topic from one or more scholarly disciplines.

This is an exceedingly difficult tightrope to walk. The community agencies are eager to have their programs presented most favorably, and yet the Metroplex Assembly staff must avoid any bias in that direction and introduce criticism just as objectively as it does praise of the work or programs of community agencies. Most agencies have come to accept this and to recognize that the Metroplex Assembly plays a valuable role in stimulating greater public opinion.

Oddly enough, the University criticism has been the more difficult to handle. University faculty members are often oriented towards the formal classroom and think in terms of their respective disciplines rather than the community problem which may not be the responsibility of any one discipline exclusively.

It would be grossly unfair to imply that all faculty members believe that the best television program is a university professor speaking on a particular topic from the standpoint of his discipline. Yet many university faculty members are curiously blind to the broad issues when their own discipline is involved. As the producer states in his report on the TV shows, (see Appendix), the Civic Education Center always placed in the hands of the producer, responsibility for formulating an approach to the problem under consideration, and selecting the persons to appear on the broadcase. It is our conviction that he must be intellectually able to master the subject under discussion and give to it the same careful research and study that a good reporter of a leading newspaper would give to any topic on which he had been assigned to write a special series.

While the Metroplex Assembly made every effort to draw on the skills and services of faculty member, it never presented a complex community problem purely through the eyes of one academic discipline. Its approach has been to focus on an important community issue and then to interpret the issue 'from the inside out.' This phrase, which the author first heard from Mayo Simon, Washington University's first producer, back in 1955, has remained a guiding principle with all the Center's television work. The phrase means simply that a living, vital problem ought first to be stated by the people who have the problem and are most deeply involved in it. It is then possible for the academic specialist to bring the insight and knowledge of his discipline to bear on the problem.

Thus, we continued to believe that it is ultimately proper to place responsibility for the organization of the program, framing an approach, and for selecting the talent under the direction of the producer. A television effort which makes the producer simply the pawn of someone not familiar with the medium is unworthy of serious attention and notice.

In St. Louis, relationships with commercial TV stations were also attempted. But while the idea was interesting, it was not entirely useful. Each program has its own rationale and each station has distinct kinds of audiences it is seeking. These factors appear to govern the kind of programming in which each station engages and it is difficult to effect a smooth relationship between the two. It appears better to let each station do whatever seems appropriate to its programming philosophy, rather than to attempt to link both programs and stations in a single approach.

V

SOME SPECIFIC METROPLEX ASSEMBLY PROJECTS

To illustrate how Metroplex Assembly works, there are described in this section three Assembly series, "The Humane City" (Spring 1959), "The Metropolitan District Plan" (Fall, 1959), "The New Immigrants", (Spring 1961).[1] Each of these projects demonstrates in particular at least one major aspect of the method.

In general, as already described, a Metroplex Assembly in operation on any one evening followed this routine: Phase I of the television broadcast opened the evening session with a documentary film on the subject for discussion. The View Posts then spent one hour in discussion of the issues raised in the documentary. Toward the end of this period, Viewing Posts telephoned in to the TV station questions that had grown out of their discussion. The Phase II of the broadcast was presented, a live television show based on the questions that had come into the station. This formulas was followed in each of the projects described below.

The Humane City

This series was designed to stimulate discussion about the meaning and relationship of the five different arts to city living. The arts selected were music, painting, drama, motion pictures, television and architecture. The special feature in this project was an experiment on how reading background material could be make available to the public. Six Washington University faculty members prepared special articles, each about 1500 words in length, which appeared on the Literature and Arts page of the Sunday St. Louis Dispatch under a small box calling attention to the forthcoming Metroplex Assembly broadcast. Although the articles were generally good, and the Post Dispatch seemed pleased to present them, the paper was never very easy about having such a precisely defined relationship to a series of television broadcasts over which it had no control. This rather unique and successful arrangement, therefore, was not attempted again.

Another special feature of this series was the opportunity for follow-up activities it presented after the series was over. Out of the experience of putting the series together, the staff conceived the idea of doing a television spectacular on the concept of the "Humane City".

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[1] The titles and dates of the different television series offered were: Decisions 1958 (Foreign Policy) Spring 1958, Issues in Metropolitan Development, Fall 1958, The Humane City (The Arts), Spring 1959. The Metropolitan District Plan, Fall 1959, Mirror for the Family, Spring 1960, Candidates and Issues, Fall 1960, The New Immigrants, Spring 1961, A Place to Live, Spring 1962, Youth--The Years Between, Spring 1963.

Turning to Washington University's chief television producer, Richard Hartzell, for counsel and assistance, a basic plan was devised to conduct a serious inquiry into the meaning and potentiality of a truly humane city. The inquiry became the format for a television show. The Dean of the School of Architecture, Joseph Passonneau, presided at this inquiry. Three distinguished individuals presented short papers: Ian McHarg, landscape architect from the University of Pennsylvania, Charles Blessing, Director of the Plan Commission of the City of Detroit and then President of the American Institute of Planners, and Fred Conway, a distinguished mural painter, on the faculty of Washington University's School of Fine Arts.

In preparing for his participation on the program, Conway had spent several days looking critically at the City of St. Louis with the University's chief photographer, Herb Weitman, and Hartzell. Under Conway's direction, Weitman took a number of pictures to illustrate Conway's concept of the variety and accidental massings of people, building, streets and other scenes that embroider a range of meanings onto the tapestry of the city. Weitman took more than 150 photographs capturing many of the qualities that Conway felt would establish his concept of the rich variety of meanings that are central to a humane view of the city. These photographs were much too exciting to be discarded after their relatively brief use in the television special. Hartzell, Weitman, and Conway, therefore, developed a display, which was eventually placed in the large reading room of the main library of the city of St. Louis and subsequently in the Wohl Residence Center at Washington University's growing residential area. It was also made available to several of the schools in the St. Louis metropolitan area.

The Metropolitan District Plan

In the Fall of 1959, the voters of St. Louis were going to have to vote on a proposal to create a metropolitan district to provide certain governmental services for all of St. Louis and St. Louis County. Among the services were transportation control, planning and zoning, fire protection, police protection, civil defense, and metropolitan sewage disposal. To help them decide the question, Metroplex Assembly initiated the series entitled "The Metropolitan District Plan". This project illustrates well the need to consult the people involved when an issue is being defined.

Since the Assembly staff was uncertain about how they wanted to develop the program, it was thought helpful to arrange a series of public meetings to discover what people were saying and thinking about the merits of the Plan, and to identify the chief issues around which public opinion would ultimately shape up when the plan was in operation. The staff found that while there was considerable interest in the Plan among voters, people actually knew very little about its specifics. Neighborhood forums were arranged to help the general public become more familiar with the broad outlines of the Plan so that more intelligent discussion of the major issues could take place. In these forums the staff also hoped to discover 'television talent'--people who had firm convictions or sharp questions which they could state effectively. These people then could be invited to participate in a final broadcase for the series.

In the community two well organized community groups were vigorously opposing each other on the question of the District Plan. The Civic Education Center arranged with these groups to send a speaker to each of the forums. Each forum meeting then took the form of a debate between the opposing speakers; this was followed by general questions and discussion among those present.

It soon became apparent that our plans for the television series would have to be revised in light of the insights generated by the forums. The staff had assumed for instance that a series of three--at the most, four--television programs during October would be adequate to examine the various services proposed by the District Plan. We learned, however, that people were not concerned so much with the specific services as they were with more basic underlying issues. The staff finally concluded that three main issues would be the focus of the debate as far as the community was concerned, and decided to devote one television broadcast to each of these. The issues were as follows:

> Would the plan work? Would one metropolitan district actually be able to furnish more effectively and efficiently the services included in the plan? These services were--then and now--largely provided by individual municipalities and, for the unincorporated area, by the County.
>
> The second issue was cost. It proved very difficult to get accurate estimates of the cost to the entire area of these different services. In addition, cost estimates proved a very complex matter having to do not only with the actual outlay of dollars for any of these services, but also with the differences in assessment and taxing practices between the city and the county and among the different municipalities in the county, all of which would affect the ultimate cost.
>
> The third question focussed on the effect of the plan on local self-government. Many residents of the small communities involved feared being swallowed up by either the city of St. Louis or some new entity that would encompass both.

Although earlier studies by the Metropolitan St. Louis Survey had quite clearly established the fact that concern with local issues is not any greater in very small communities (indeed, it is frequently less), people still responded to the notion that something terribly important - almost sacred - was about to be taken from them if control over public services passed from small-community to metropolitan-district control. The carefully-reasoned appeal by the proponents of the District Plan to separate those services that could be most effectively performed at a small-community level went largely unheeded. The issue of local self-government, of course, is made to order for the demagogue who stands to lose some local power, if a larger unit takes over. And demagogues there were in evidence at every forum--indeed at almost every discussion of the issue.

When the forums were over, individuals who had been identified as able spokesmen--irrespective of their point of view--were invited to participate in the production of a television program in the studios of KETC. Bleachers were set up on three sides of the large studio of KETC and a speaker's platform on the fourth side. Approximately 160 people were present in the studio. The opening half-hour was given over to statements by representatives of each of the opposing factions. Studio guests were then given an opportunity to ask questions or to make comments. The Metroplex Assembly moderator opened the meeting with a resume of the forums. The program was kinescoped on a closed circuit system at the studio and later released for general viewing by the St. Louis community. Portions of the program were also used in each of the three other television programs that were presented during the month of October.

From the CECs point of view, the chief purpose for scheduling the neighborhood forums was to help ensure more sharply-focussed television programs and to alert the community to the fact that the broadcasts were coming up. The staff felt that the forums were quite successful. Some proponents of the District Plan, following its defeat at the polls, charged the CEC with being responsible for its defeat. Their line of reasoning ran that if the CEC had not stirred up a lot of interest in the subject, the vote would have been considerably lighter and by and large, only people knowledgeable about and favorable to the plan would have voted. This line of reasoning is obviously not valid in a democractic society. In this case, it also credited the Metroplex Assembly with more influence than it actually had.

Official spokesmen among proponents and opponents, however, felt that the CEC had performed a useful public service, and had done so with complete impartiality.

"The New Immigrants"

This series was concerned with the impact of in-migration on greater St. Louis. The situation in St. Louis was that large numbers of newcomers from the rural South had been moving into the area. Most of these people had been displaced by mechanization of agriculture in the South and the dwindling population on which small market centers depended. Usually, the in-migrants lacked formal education and were poorly equipped for city life. The city was much concerned over this situation.

This project highlighted the troublesome task of defining a problem as it actually existed in the eyes of a community. Long and careful probing, conducted with sensitivity and tact had to go into the process of organizing community participation in planning a series on such a subject. In the course of consultations on any level, a whole new set of questions developed. But through listening, and analyzing the perceptions of the citizens about the problem, the issue finally fell into its true perspective and became clear.

Afterwards, it became obvious that if the staff had simply gone ahead on their own estimate of what the problem was--how the in-migrant presents formidable problems to the city--they would have been addressing themselves to the wrong question. Through community consultation, it became clear that the real question for discussion was, what are the problems that the city presents to the newcomer from the rural South? As the report written on this project by James McCrory[1] said:

> It is not difficult to find, in consulting community action groups, a consensus -- voiced, or simply evident to the inquirer -- on what a priority problem area is at a given time in the community.
>
> It is something else again to attempt to discover consensus on what the problem is, because to most action agencies or organizations, the problem tends to be defined as the impact of a problem area on the agency's own activities.
>
> This is a natural tendency. It may be unavoidable. Yet it has a distinct effect on both a community's awareness of a problem area and on the rhetoric of community discussion.
>
> For example, St. Louisans have become increasingly aware over the past decade of the in-migration of thousands of unskilled whites and Negroes to the metropolitan area from the rural South. Only in the last few years,

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[1] James McCrory was employed in 1959-61 to take direct responsibility for Metroplex Assembly, freeing Johnson to service the many communities who were interested in duplicating the St. Louis experience.

> however, has this awareness taken any direction that is not almost entirely negative: the community's awareness of its growing population of newcomers grew in direct proportion to the degree to which these new people created problems for the community and its established agencies and leadership.
>
> Inevitably, the rhetoric of community discussion about this emerging problem acquired the same negative cast. 'The problem' was the problems newcomers were giving police, schools, city administrators, welfare agencies. 'The question' was 'how can we cope with these people?', 'how can we make them conform to our requirements?' or, even more simply, 'how can we shut off the flow?'
>
> To state this situation is not to criticize St. Louisans or St. Louis agency executives, but simply to outline the way in which community problems are brought to community attention -- anywhere. Community institutions -- even the 'helping services' -- are staffed by human beings with given responsibilities, given tasks and given resources. They have a job to do; change complicates that job and looms as a threat until it becomes drastic enough to force a change in the givens in which they must work.
>
> It is debatable whether the in-migration presented any really new problems to St. Louis agencies. But there is no question that the sheer size of the population change had, by 1960, aggravated the problems with which individual agencies were supposed to cope to the point where each of them, separately, was 'in trouble.'

A series of informal meetings of staff members with agency representatives in the Summer of 1960 explored the depth and variety of this 'trouble' as it affected school administrators, police, city officials, and welfare agencies. An early staff summary of the results stated:

> Community awareness is confined largely to the negative aspects of in-migration. For example, the financial burden placed on central city police, health, welfare, recreational and educational services; the visible deterioration of many neighborhoods; the trouble-makers among the in-migrants; the problems in-migrants present to administrators of schools, welfare agencies, health and police services.

The same staff summary continued:

> The community's attitude can be summed up in one short phrase: 'It's a hopeless mess.' Each year, the community spends more and more on education, welfare services,

law enforcement, hospitals and health. Yet, each year, more poor whites and Negroes flood in, services are strained still further and the in-migrant ghettoes expand.

The problem seems to defy solution -- at least the standard solutions of exposure to education, law enforcement, welfare services and the assumed American urge to better oneself. The newcomers are not assimilating; if they are Negroes, they may still be newcomers, culturally, after two generations in the city.

This summary adequately defined the problem as perceived generally by community leaders at one point in time. It also suggested both the biggest difficulty and the biggest challenge to an educational agency (a term that, in this sense, can just as well include newspapers, radio and television stations) seeking to encourage a community dialogue about the important community problem.

Precisely because a community's action agencies are the best sources of information of a problem area (because they must confront its realities), it is difficult to acquire the information without accepting, in some part, the administrator's natural definition of the problem.

It is 'natural' for an agency administrator to define a community problem in terms of the trouble it gives his agency, not only because that is how he first perceives it himself, but because that is how he is asked about it: by his board, by his superiors, by news media.

There are discipline problems in the schools: Why? There is a growing welfare caseload: Why? The crime rate keeps going up: Why? Slums keep spreading: Why? The answer, time after time (and sometimes with questionable fairness) was 'in-migrants' and in this manner a metropolitan area grew aware of a 'problem'.

The precise question, implied or openly voiced, to administrators (which led, bit by bit, to the community's education to the in-migrant problem) was: 'Why is your agency falling down on the job?'

And this was the question actually heard and responded to by agency executives in the CEC's first conference with them, even though what we actually asked was 'what is the problem?'

The challenge to the educational institution (or newspaper, radio or TV station) is the opportunity its detachment offers to ask a community's action agencies 'what the problem is' and to continue asking until the administrator is convinced that the questioner really wants to know and is not out primarily to find the weak spots in his particular agency's performance.

Effective rapport with community agencies concerned with in-migration was accomplished through repeated informal meetings of the kind mentioned earlier, through work with an informal advisory group and, finally, in two afternoon sessions with an informally convened group of forty key agency representatives in the metropolitan St. Louis area.

In the course of these meetings -- and particularly in the course of sessions with the small advisory group -- a different set of questions began to emerge about the newcomers, a change summarized in the final staff summary for the series:

St. Louis is exceedingly well aware of the problem the newcomers present to it. But how many people seriously consider that the community may present rather formidable problems to the newcomers: particularly to those newcomers who would like to conform to urgan standards, who have a desire to better their skills, who would respond to opportunity and incentives?

The difference in approach is important. To define the 'in-migrant problem' only in terms of the problems individual poor whites and Negroes from the rural South present to police, to social agencies, to schools and welfare agencies is to rivet our attention only on the troublemakers among the newcomers.... We are aware of the aberrants among them, we conclude they are all like this, and we define the process of human change as the unpleasant business of forcing 'our' standards on 'them' -- the mass of invincibly backward white trash and colored.

Given this definition of the group, it is a nasty business. So we have not done it. Charity for those 'who don't know any better' (and never will) has intervened time after time to weaken the enforcement of laws in in-migrant ghettoes and to lower achievement standards in slum schools.

But how do the in-migrants who are not like the stereotype feel about this? They have seldom been asked; by and large, the community is not aware they exist. . . it is necessary to confront community leaders and residents with the kinds of in-migrants they have not yet met: first, the poor whites and Negroes who do aspire to improve

> their living standards, who want education, who would like to acquire higher skills, and second, those who would strive for any or all of these if offered any incentive to do so.
>
> When the staff finally arrived at this definition of the problem (which became inevitably the program theme) the preceding months seemed an exceedingly long way around to a rather simple and obvious idea. Perhaps this was so. In retrospect, there seems no other way to have arrived there and to know how and why the realities of the St. Louis situation demanded such a definition. Just as important, there seems no other way to work out the terms of a community discussion series on any other topic with any assurance of understanding and full cooperation from those key civic and agency leaders who will provide both major program resources and focus for community participation.

Based on this kind of problem identification, a project was designed. Entitled "The New Immigrants", the program included a series of six weekly TV sessions in the usual format. Phase I presented a documentary on one of the major problems the 'new immigrants' face in the metropolitan area--finding a job, finding housing, securing adequate schooling for their children, etc. The documentary included brief interviews with several of the new immigrants and interviews with staff members of four or five agencies concerned with helping the new comer meet their problems. The agencies included state and federal services, settlement houses, city welfare services, the police department, the official Human Rights Commission for the State of Missouri, the Real Estate Board, the school system, three universities, the Urban League and the Central AFL-CIO Labor Council. All interviews were filmed ahead of time and sections from each were clipped and edited into a meaningful sequence to form the core of the programs focussed on different problems.

Phase II was always 'live.' None of the in-migrants appeared on Phase II, but the agency and organizational representatives who had appeared on the filmed portions of Phase I were usually present for Phase II. In addition, qualified members of the faculties of Washington University and other local institutions of higher education helped to document the facts presented--the situations described.

Questions from the Viewing Posts concerned such matters as these:

> Why don't the states from which the in-migrants come provide help -- education for example -- where these people live before they migrate?

> Is this a national responsibility calling for a national policy or the responsibility of individual cities who feel the heavy impact of in-migration? What should it be?
>
> What can the different agencies and organizations do to focus their different services on helping the new immigrants meet their problems successfully?
>
> Why doesn't the city of St. Louis provide a 'reception center' in which these newcomers could get an adequate introduction to the nature and opportunities of city living?
>
> How realistic is it to expect that the newcomers can ever be adequately trained to hold 'good' jobs in the city?

Supplementary efforts were directed towards improving the amount and quality of community participation in this series. Prepared discussion guides were mailed weekly to the organizer or lead leader of each viewing post along with a newsletter.

A staff member prepared reading materials to accompany the television broadcasts. Each of these weekly background statements drew on available material regarding the newcomers, their problems of adjustment, and the problems they raise for the cities to which they move. The St. Louis Post-Dispatch reprinted on its editorial page the first of these reading materials.

Another effort to involve the community was a series of special seminars, set up for groups of from twenty to forty people from agencies with considerable interest and responsibility for the problem area under examination. During the broadcasts, staff and board members from the community institutions came together for six meetings. There were representatives from the Health and Welfare Council, the public schools, the police department, the Mayor's Council on Human Relations, the Department of Public Welfare of the City of St. Louis, the Department of Safety of the City of St. Louis, the Urban League, the YMCA, the YWCA, the Citizens Council on Housing and Community Planning, the Missouri Commission on Human Rights, the Inter-Association of Neighborhood Organizations and others. The group used the television series as an opportunity to exchange views with each other about the kinds of difficulties the in-migrants face in working out successful living patterns in St. Louis, and the kinds of social problems they pose, in turn, for the community at large. This group was also invited to several special luncheons, concerned with relating the educational work of CEC to the work of the agencies involved in a concerted attack on the problem.

Lessons Learned Through the St. Louis Experiences

From the series of Metroplex Assembly programs, the staff of the Civic Education Center learned many things. Here is a brief summary of the more important lessons we felt we learned during the past three years.

> While it is possible to organize Viewing Posts around almost any subject of widespread interest, larger number of Viewing Posts can be organized when local people can see some relationship between their discussions and effecting some desired changes in community life or institutions. There is no virtue, of course, in seeking to attract an audience merely to roll up impressive statistics, but there is no point in ignoring the fact that Americans are action-oriented. (It is, of course, true that some excellent programs may never attract sizable audiences.) The CEC staff quickly verified the earlier San Bernardino experience that the interest of Americans in getting things done is a powerful motivation to tap in organizing a program using the format of the Metroplex Assembly.
>
> It is difficult, costly and probably unwise, to attempt the development of television programs on issues of national and international significance with only the resources that can be brought to bear at the local level, even in a community the size of St. Louis. Television programs on genuinely national or general interest topics should appeal to an audience greater than that of a single metropolitan area, in order to justify the expense and to open up other kinds of resources that are not always available. In producing television documentaries on local issues -- housing, for example -- it would be exceedingly helpful if footage shot in other communities could be incorporated in the local show. An entire program produced for another area or for a national audience, however, seldom has the local focus that makes it relevant for the people of one particular metropolitan area. The availability of such footage has not yet been organized so as to make its use by the local person easy or feasible.
>
> Well-produced television broadcasts find a valuable secondary use when available as kines or video tapes for rebroadcasting by other stations in the area as part of their public service programming and for use in the educational programs of the schools, colleges, universities and other institutions studying the kinds of topics that come under the lens of the Metroplex camera.

It is difficult to get all kinds of people to take the kind of leadership training which has traditionally been associated with success in discussion groups. While training in leading discussion is a problem that needs continuing attention, it is also necessary to seek ways and means to reduce the dependence of the group on the discussion skill of the organizer or leader. In practical terms, the CEC staff learned that the moderator of the Metroplex Assembly -- the face and voice that people come to associate with the Assembly -- must be an invisible presence in all of the Viewing Posts. This goal is accomplished currently by focussing the discussion at the end of the broadcast of Phase I through the asking of questions and suggesting to Viewing Posts that they search for questions that seem interesting and significant to them. Groups are also urged by the moderator to telephone their questions to the television studio. Phase II, thus, becomes an extension of the discussion rather than a simple answering of questions telephoned in at random. The entire evening becomes a continuing interrelated educational experience, each part as essential as any other. The total effect of this, the staff believes, is to decrease the extent to which the success of any one group can be equated with the presence in that group of an experienced discussion leader.

The University faculty which represents, of course, the primary resource on which to draw in developing a program is difficult to involve. The chief reasons for this are: a) Funds are not always available to pay the faculty members for their participation and few faculty people will participate in educational broadcasts without additional compensation; b) individuals who may know a great deal about the topic under discussion may be poor television talent; c) the problems discussed are often not the exclusive concern of any one discipline -- psychology or sociology, for example -- and it is necessary to draw on the experience, ideas and knowledge of a wide variety of faculty people to present a balanced and comprehensive view. Often this means that no faculty person will appear directly on camera and that the producer of the program must take an increasing responsibility for the "idea structure" of the television broadcast.

While reading material can be very helpful in providing additional facts and information about the topic under discussion, reading material should be prepared or made available at different levels of reading difficulty. Unfortunately, the majority of civic-minded people who respond to a television broadcast on a civic issue are not print-oriented and most of the material on civic issues is written at a level of understanding that requires a minimum of a high school education. To relate printed materials to the television broadcasts so that all levels of education and sophistication are adequately served, requires resources considerably beyond those of the Metroplex Assembly project.

In order to capture widespread attention, the Metroplex Assembly program needs to make news. It accomplishes this end either by the kinds of people who appear on it or by statements that are made about policy issues or other major developments in the topic under discussion.

About half of the participants in any one Metroplex Assembly series will be repeaters -- that is, the organizer of the group will in half the cases have organized at least one previous discussion group; the remaining half are new people. This is important in calculating where to put organizing time and talent.

A Metroplex Assembly-type program cannot be supported by fees paid by the participants. Attempts that have been made to reduce the direct costs of the program through the sale of reading materials, asking for contributions, etc., have not been very successful. The staff did not really wrestle with the problem during the first three years, believing it had first to find out how to locate or produce useful reading materials.

The foregoing statements, then, are some of the major conclusions to which the staff of the Civic Education Center came during the first three years.

VI

MEANINGS AND IMPLICATIONS

The remaining pages of this report will attempt to turn attention to the implications of the Assembly's work for education, for the process of social change in the community, and for individual growth and development. If some of the flavor of the operation is lost in this dissection, perhaps the gain in specificity of comment will offset the loss.

Implications for Education

From the standpoint of education, the Assembly was a thrust along the urban frontier which the United States has been exploring at an accelerated pace for the past decade. The facts about the Nation's urban growth have been carefully compiled and fairly widely distributed. The meaning of those facts has, however, not been well established, nor have adequate patterns for different aspects of the Nation's life, based on knowledge of the new urban condition, been worked out by our people. The necessary understanding of the new orban situation is a critical need, if our society is to change peacefully and in a rational response to the hopes and needs of our people.

The development of an adequate understanding of the urban situation should surround the individual's pursuit of happiness with something more than ignorance, wishful thinking. or frustration and despair.

As an educational activity, the rationale behind Metroplex was to direct attention to the basic fabric of the emerging metropolitan community. Essentially, the Assembly always asked three kinds of questions, irrespective of the precise topic under consideration: First, what is the problem? Second, what needs to be done in order to resolve the problem or improve the situation -- what are the alternatives? And third, how in American society, do we attack the problem -- that is, which alternative is most in keeping with American values? Should we, for that reason alone, adopt it?

Any society swept up in the process of change needs constantly to ask whether its response (or lack of response) to new conditions is adequate to preserve stability and avoid chaos. It also must ask whether its means are consistent with its values, with the basic body of belief that underly the working of all its institutions. For a society that ignores its deepest values in an expedient attack on new problems is a society in the process of destroying itself.

The new metropolitan community developing around the old city must develop an adequate structure if it is to avoid paralysis.

It must also develop effective means to ensure that the structure works. The metropolitan community faces, to borrow a phrase made famous by Robert Havighurst in another context, certain 'developmental tasks.'

In the judgment of the CEC staff, based on careful perusal of available research, conversations with area leaders, and insights we developed as participants in the daily life of the metropolitan area, the following seemed to be the critical developmental tasks of the metropolitan community:

> To devise, experiment with, and evaluate new institutions to serve the area and new patterns for carrying on needed activities in the fields of government, social service, economic life, cultural activities and others.
>
> To establish the governmental level at which various desired public services can be most effectively organized and administered.
>
> To formulate goals clearly -- insofar as they may differ from the goals of the Nation generally -- on such issues as use of leisure time, protection of natural resources, the extent of physical mobility desired, the size and kind of homes desired and a whole host of other issues on which clarity and fairly general agreement are essential, if city planners, developers, social service and other agencies serving the people are to have adequate guidance and a sense of being close to the thinking of the people.
>
> To establish norms or standards for both public and private services that are realistic and can be enforced.
>
> To devise effective means for communication on important civic issues among the people generally and between the people and the specialized agencies serving them.
>
> To identify and assimilate the newcomers to the area, cherishing the gifts they bring and helping them to discover satisfying ways of living in the metropolitan environment and making significant contributions to its progress.
>
> To devise suitable ways for rewarding civic achievement and genuine service to the metropolitan area and to meet resolutely any attacks on the new pattern of metropolitan life that is developing in the St. Louis bi-state area.

These developmental tasks, and others that might have been listed, are not, of course, exclusively educational in character. If the metropolitan area survives as a community, these developmental tasks will be achieved, in one way or another. The crucial question is how they will be achieved, and education is concerned with the how. One major task of the educating agencies of the area is to help the people look at these developmental needs and learn to respond rationally and consciously to their different requirements.

Metroplex Assembly slowly forged a set of relationships with area institutions and other channels for placing the developmental needs of the metropolitan community before the people. Indeed, so large a share of the time, energy and money available to Metroplex went into the task of creating the mechanism to get these issues before the people that remaining resources were never adequate for the uniquely educational aspects of the task. Perhaps, this is the inevitable price that must be paid for breaking new ground; it is difficult to redirect resources from established patterns until the new ones have already been established. This was the dilemma which constantly confronted the Metroplex staff.

For example, for most of the years that Metroplex was on the air, television station KETC, Channel Nine, the community's educational channel that carried the program, pressed steadily for payment from the Metroplex budget for air time to present the program as well as payment for the use of the studio. The station was always in difficult financial circumstances and from the station's point of view, Metroplex was a Washington University program. The University, KETC's management reasoned, should bear the cost of airing that portion of KETC's total program that originated with the University. KETC applied the same line of reasoning to all other area institutions related to programs broadcast on its channel.

From the standpoint of Washington University, however, Metroplex was a community service to which other institutions might well contribute in addition to the University. The practical result of these divergent views was that Metroplex paid for the airtime and the funds available for strengthening the educational side of the activity were consequently reduced.

Metroplex also carried community organizers on its staff, for experience had demonstrated that this critical area of work could not be left to untrained and unsupervised volunteers. Is this organizational activity an educational task? It was clearly necessary if the Assembly was to operate with maximum participation from the community. Yet, many persons within the University community felt this represented the diversion of funds designed for educational purposes to non-educational tasks. During the years that Metroplex operated, Washington University had to exert the most stringent economy to keep its books balanced. A new operation, such as Metroplex, therefore, was critically regarded by some sections of the educational community. Many sections of the University, including the administration, felt it essential to support experimentation of this kind, even though the University had financial problems. This last attitude may be the hallmark of a great university.

The response of the Metroplex staff to these questions was a reiteration -- that became rather dogged in time -- of its belief that these were not the priority questions. The priority questions, they asserted, were to learn the values of Metroplex Assembly as a mechanism for community education, to make it operationally practical, and to enhance its educational values. Nonetheless, the constant demands on the budget to keep the mechanism alive left the educational budget always marginal.

Some Specific Tasks

Almost invariably the staff found a wide information gap between the interests of people on an issue and the data supplied by community agencies. The earlier description of the Metroplex Assembly series on the Metropolitan District Plan for St. Louis and St. Louis County amply illustrates this point. The information materials were organized in terms of the specific services the proposed District would supply: the people, however, were interested in something else -- such fundamental questions as the relationship of the proposed services to home rule for municipalities. In almost all Metroplex series, one educational task was to prepare additional materials to fill the information void. Another necessary task was to call attention to the existence of the information materials and to create means whereby people come to know and study them. Given the great competition for people's time, even the best, most reliable, most sharply focussed material runs the risk of being ignored. Someone must work constantly to get people to study it.

A second educational taks, therefore, is to see to it that information on a problem is developed into knowledge. Information obviously does not become knowledge until the individual has made it in some way his own. The Metroplex staff worked toward this goal by encouraging the formation of Viewing Posts, by providing opportunities for individuals and Viewing Posts to ask questions, by offering seminars and conferences on the topic of the broadcast, and by the occasional use of the "opinion ballot" as a means of focussing the individual's learnings through his choice of alternative policies or procedures.

It is not enough, however, to be concerned only with seeing that an issue *receives* critical thinking. A third educational task is to *stimulate the ability* of participants to think critically. In Metroplex, critical thinking was encouraged through *example* (the kinds of questions the moderator of the Assembly asked of program participants), in discussion *guides* that framed critical questions for individuals and groups to use, and through *training* sessions that emphasized this goal.

A fourth key task of the community educator is the encouragement of value confrontation--that is creating a situation in which any contradiction between the values people profess to believe and the realities of the social conditions or policies to which they give their allegience come sharply into focus. The Metroplex staff believed its task as an educating agency was not to persuade people to accept or reject any value, but to make clear the values that were actually operating and their relationship to the community conditions under study. Among all the values that might be at work or potentially significant in any situation, it seemed most important to call attention to core values of American society as opposed to those of any particular group. Obviously complex community problems can rarely be solved in terms of the appropriate value along; life isn't that simple. For example, providing adequate housing for a city's poor may become inter-related with efforts to protest the city's tax base through changing the character of residential areas close to a downtown. Which value should dominate? Providing housing or protecting the tax base? Thorny though it is, value alignment is certainly the starting point in moving toward the resolution of grave problems in a community or in our society generally.

Another difficult task the staff wrestled with in shaping each new theme for a Metroplex Assembly series, was that of defining the educational objectives of the series. In general, there was staff agreement that these should be stated as behavioral changes. We encountered two difficulties that seem important enough to mention in this summary. The first of these was the difficulty of making these objectives clear, particularly to people not accustomed to thinking in these terms and even, we confessed, to ourselves. The second difficulty lay in the problem of the relationship of individual change to the specifics of the social or occupational setting in which the individual operated. A brief comment about each of these may be useful.

In defining educational objectives in behavioral terms, educators include both overt and covert change. The root of the popular confusion seems to lie here. It is one thing to assert that a program seeks to stimulate more people to vote or to change the purchasing habits of the housewife or the eating habits of her family. It is quite another matter to state objectives as changes in values or perception or the development of new concepts. The latter are extraordinarily difficult to measure in ways that have concrete significance over a period of time.

The operational problem lies in the fact that the change is often a subtle one, difficult to frame in a specific cause and effect relationship; and the gathering of concrete evidence is difficult and tedious. The staff hoped for fairly lasting changes, and dismissed paper and pencil tests (that might have been administered directly following a broadcast of discussion) as not very conclusive.

Anecdotal evidence that change had, in fact, occurred was sought wherever possible. CEC files are a rich source of anecdotes that illustrate the value of the educational experience.

Despite these difficulties, the staff believed objectives should continue to be stated in terms of changed behavior. Community education is, however, a long way from having effective and reliable means for measuring whether the objectives have been reached. The community educator must be prepared to accept considerable impatience from people who think the problem of stating educational objectives in this manner is not worth the time and effort.

The Educational Target

Opportunities for effective individual action on massive community problems -- the size of the city budget, municipal jealousies in a metropolitan setting -- are often so limited as to discourage individuals from studying the problem at all. The power to change the situation seems to reside in a particular office holder, an exceptionally powerful person, a small board or group; the individual citizen seems to lack the capacity to do anything.

Faced with a paucity of resources, many educators would put their time and efforts behind programs directed toward the few individuals who seem to possess the decision making power. From the standpoint of education, however, the matter of decision making simply cannot be viewed as the concern of only a few. It is obviously not necessary or possible to educate every citizen of a metropolitan area on every issue that arises, but it is possible to bring into the educational process the "influentials" from practically every segment and subdividion of the population mass. If this is accomplished, policy making will not be carried on in a vacuum of public concern -- or conversely in a confused clamor of citizens who have no real understanding of what is at stake.

The tasks of educating the people and educating the policy makers should not be competitive, but in terms of resources they often are. However, the attempt to educate those who possess immediate decision-making power at the expense of educating the influentials in all segments of the community cannot be defended on any except the most expedient grounds. A program that embraces both is urgently needed.

Implications for Social Change

At this point the temptation to set forth a theory of social change -- and then to discuss the Metroplex Assembly as it relates to that theory -- will be firmly set aside. The comments that follow are thus, of necessity, somewhat fragmentary in nature. Each comment is essentially a statement -- from the *standpoint of social change* -- about one or more of the operating assumptions on which the Metroplex Assembly rested.

Education, in approaching community issues and proglems, must operate not in isolation but in concert with other agencies that may not be educational in character.

Education and action should be a continuum, yet our practices tend to discourage this. It should be almost impossible, except for purposes of internal administration, to tell where education stops and action agencies begin their work on a community problem. For the educator this means that purely "educational" objectives have to blend and mesh with other objectives and that it will often be difficult to determine whether such covert objectives as changing values and perceptions have been achieved. There will also be those who say it doesn't matter as long as the social change takes place.

A favorable climate is necessary for any massive kind of social change.

One of the chief values of Metroplex lay in the fact that agencies or organizations wishing to take constructive social action found it more possible to do so following a Metroplex series. The Mayor's Council on Human Relations, for example, found its efforts to secure passage of a public accommodations law (requiring all establishments serving the public to end discrimination based on race, religion, or national origin) were considerably aided by several Metroplex programs which touched on the plight of the Negro in obtaining services freely available to any white. The Metropolitan Church Federation in St. Louis, long eager to establish a department of research and planning, moved swiftly to accomplish this under the able leadership of Rev. Ralph Abele, then president of the Federation. He credited Metroplex efforts with creating the climate that helped to make this move possible. Both professional and volunteer leaders working with neighborhood organization credit Metroplex with arousing the interest and stimulating leadership to form many new neighborhood associations in St. Louis.

Social change requires careful linkage of action agencies operating in the same field but often with different or overlapping objectives.

Most community agencies -- public or private -- are *program* oriented rather than *problem* oriented. They tend to approach the complex life of the metropolitan area by projecting into the future programs and policies developed in the past. They cannot respond easily to new conditions or new problems because this requires a re-orientation of basic policies and reallocation of resources, ends which are terribly difficult to achieve. To accomplish this during the Metroplex series on the "New Immigrants", a special Viewing

Post of representatives of several dozen community agencies and institutions -- the schools, welfare organizations, police, and private civic groups was formed. All of these agencies carried on programs that touched the "new immigrants" in one way or another, yet none of them had programs that addressed themselves to the human problems of the new arrivals in toto. Although these agencies believed they understood the in-migrants, discussions among staff and board members at the Viewing Post revealed to their own satisfaction that they didn't. Quite clearly, some new mechanism is necessary if the programs and policies of institutions that focus on different aspects of a common problem are to achieve any effective and accelerated social change.

Social change will be accomplished with less disturbance and with maximum understanding and acceptance if widespread citizen participation is encouraged in studying the circumstances of change and formulating the policies to guide it.

Today, it is obvious in St. Louis (as it is in every large metropolis) that the neighborhood school policy is at the heart of much conflict over school integration programs. If real integration is desired, either the pattern of defacto residential segregation must be broken and more racially balanced neighborhoods be developed, or the concept of the neighborhood school must be modified in order to achieve schools that are more balanced in terms of racial composition. Without considering the merits of the case at all, the point stressed here is that the people of St. Louis are not really participating in this decision, unless violent reaction to school board decisions can be called participation. There is no effective machinery for encouraging discussion and debate on this most difficult topic. If Metroplex Assembly were operating in St. Louis at this moment, school integration is surely the issue it should and would be considering. The failure to provide effective channels for citizen participation on this important topic will, inevitably, lead to more arbitrary action by those who possess the decision making power (it may not be unwise action, but it will be arbitrary in the sense that channels of communication are not adequate to ensure that citizen viewpoint is both developed and fed into the decision making process.) Metroplex provided channels of communication between the people and the specialized boards and agencies concerned with one or more aspects of planning fortheir needs. Because it did, citizens were more inclined to identify with the final decision. The final decision was more likely to be taken with full awareness of the many factors that need to be considered in arriving at a decision.

Implications for Individual Change

The final lens through which this report will examine the impact of Metroplex Assembly is that of its influence on individual behavior -- without, at the moment, any reference to whether the change is measureable as an educational objective. The following examples have been selected from a large number on file illustrative of individual change attributed to participation in the Metroplex Assembly.

A St. Louis housewife, the mother of two children, participated in the first leadership conference the CEC held, in 1957. Thereafter she organized a Viewing Post and became intensely interested in a wide range of neighborhood and civic interests and problems. At that time, she had had no connection with any kind of neighborhood organization. In a matter of a few short years, she joined and held every post in her neighborhood improvement association, was elected president of a city-wide federation of neighborhood associations and served on the boards of at least four major civic associations. In 1962 she was nominated for alderman from her ward and came within a few votes of winning the election. Her supporters are confident she will be elected the next time. She credits her participation in Metroplex with changing the direction of her activity and generating a continuing concern for community welfare.

A young St. Louis architect, after participating in several Metroplex series, became appalled by the difficulties of professionally trained Negroes in finding suitable employment. He was determined to assist one Negro high school student, with an interest in following architecture, to obtain the necessary professional education. Ultimately, the student will be employed in the architect's firm.

One member of a Viewing Post for several Metroplex series called on six families in her block to furnigh them with ballots for the Berlin Crisis broadcast in the Fall of 1962. She had called on these same families earlier in connection with a fund drive for KETC-TV and assumed from her conversations with them that they would be interested in watching the Berlin broadcast and recording their opinions.

A church leader, on learning about the forthcoming series on "The New Immigrants," decided this series would be an excellent opportunity for helping the members of the all-white church learn something about the problems, hopes and fears of the colored families moving into the neighborhood around the church.

A teacher in a suburban St. Louis high school urged the members of his social studies class to organize Viewing Posts among their own friends. The teacher offered help in carrying the idea through and provided time to discuss reactions in class. Twenty-seven of his students organized Viewing Posts.

A suburban family, impressed with the work of neighborhood groups in the city of St. Louis, (reported on several Metroplex series) changed its plans to buy a new home in the same suburb. They bought their new home in the city of St. Louis and in one of the neighborhoods served by an active neighborhood association.

One Viewing Post organizer reported that her hairdresser, on learning of her interest in Metroplex, stated that the series in the fall of 1959 on metropolitan issues captured his interest. Since that time, he said, he has regularly followed not only Metroplex series but all reports of major metropolitan are problems.

Metroplex bred intense loyalty among its regular participants. Such loyalty is difficult to generate in programs concerned with public issues and problems, but when it exists it indicates the kind of response that can be evoked if an institution is willing to devote the resources to it. For example, one group organizer reported that her family regularly had its evening meal early on Metroplex evenings. "Oud maid," she said, "has a Viewing Post that meets in her home and must leave early to get ready for it".

A Washington University faculty member reported that he "inherited" a Viewing Post with the home he purchased on moving to St. Louis. His neighbors called on him, shortly after he moved in, to invite him to join their Viewing Post and to suggest that he allow the Viewing Post to continue meeting in the house he had just purchased. By common consent, they said, the Viewing Post 'belonged' there.

Finally, as a concluding note there is this message from the president of a neighborhood association in St. Louis. On learning about plans to change the character of the program the Civic Education Center had been comducting, he wrote:

> It is my firm conviction and also that of other people in our Association that Metroplex has served a vital need for disseminating information about issues and ideas vital to St. Louis. The present series (on youth) has brought us thoughts relative to youth that we had never considered before.

To bring to action thoughts "never discussed before" is ultimately the hope behind each Metroplex Assembly program.

APPENDIX

Throughout four of the five years of the Metroplex Assembly, Louis T. Iglehart, Jr., was associated with the effort. For three of those years, he was the producer of the program, as well as the moderator of the Assembly. His account of the Center's concept of television and the production procedures follows:

> Metroplex Assembly viewers are not students, nor is television used to substitute for, or create an artificial classroom or meeting hall. Television does provide Metroplex viewers a common, simultaneous experience on which their subsequent small group discussions are based; and, by making them conscious of the number and geographic spread of other Viewing Posts, it gives the participants a heightened sense of the reailty of their metropolitan area and the diversity of its citizens (economic and social, political, educational, racial, religious, etc.) Thus, while its use reflects the complexity and pluralistic nature of modern urban society, television at the same time fosters a genuine cosmopolitan outlook among its viewers, and a strengthened sense of community beyond their immediate neighborhoods or municipalities.
>
> The TV Producer
>
> Since the use of television is central to the concept of the Metroplex Assembly, the budget provides for a full-time professional television producer on the staff. His chief responsibility is to create television programs which will sharpen the focus on specific questions and issues, challenge the imagination of the viewer, and serve as a catalyst for further thought and fruitful discussion in the Viewing Posts. This general aim of the programs does not vary, but the technique or format of each individual series is flexible and provides the greatest challenge to the abilities of the producer.
>
> The definition and functions of a television producer take different forms in commercial and non-commercial television. There are producers, producer-writers, producer-directors, and producer-talents. In practice, at the Civic Education Center, the term 'producer' meant 'producer-writer-talent.' The producer is responsible for production, budget control, script-writing, interviewing and selecting talent and appearing on camera as the moderator-narrator of the programs. As producer he selects, within budgetary limitations, all 'visuals' used on the program (titles, credits, stills, motion picture footage, props, sets, maps, charts, etc.). He selects theme and incidental music, again with an eye on the budget (and on copyrights).

Where original motion picture footage is used, he supervises the shooting and editing of this footage.

As a script-writer, he sets forth the 'stance' or point of view of the program, (as agreed upon in consultation with the CEC staff) and ties together the segments with bridging commentary and narration. With his TV director, he establishes the shooting pace and pattern of the show, integrating the live film and other visual segments. As 'talent', he becomes the program's voice and its continuing personality through narration, commentary and interviews with guest participants.

There are several observations about this kind of television and the producer's relationship to the whole process which may be pertinent here:

1. A competent producer must be interested in much more than technical skill. It is important to master the language, the possibilities and limitations of television. Good ideas can't be translated effectively to TV without knowing what can and can't be done with a two-camera setup, without knowing when to ask for a 50 or a 90 lens on a shot, without knowing the gray scale, lighting for desired effect, 'TV cut-off' on film shots - all those tools of the trade which must be mastered if a program is to look and 'feel' professional. But, the good producer must care deeply about what he is saying as much as how it can best be said. This requires his full attention and involvement in the formulation of the questions and problems which the program is concerned with.

2. Closely related to this necessity for caring about what is being said is the manner and style of the program. Though he must be sensitive to the ideas and suggestions of others, to University policy and relations, and to his potential audience, the producer must ultimately provide the distinctive shape and sound of the program: he must always 'speak with the sound of his own voice'. The scope of a series and its basic ideas can be hammered out by a committee; it must be produced by an individual.

3. The choice of guest talent is very important; a program can't often rise above the quality of its participants. On programs which deal largely with public issues, the producer must do a lot of searching and interviewing to find the 'right' spokesman on a particular issue. The qualities which determine who this 'right' spokesman should be will vary, and

> always involve more than deciding whether he will 'come off' well on TV. A guest participant should always serve a specific function in the development of the program's approach to the problem or issue being examined. Many times the choice of the right talent is made for you, i.e., some questions can be answered effectively only by a specific, responsible person - the Mayor, the head of a private or public agency, etc. What these individuals may sometimes lack in TV 'appeal' is often outweighted by the importance attached to their views because of their position and influence in the community. There is another kind of participant who may be a 'natural' at the opposite end of the scale and for whom there is no satisfactory substitute - 'the people'. Most public issues involve specific human beings at their core, and no amount of talking about them can beat talking to them. On our most recent series, we dealt extensively with the effects of discrimination against the Negro. The most telling segments of this series presented the faces and voices of individual Negroes telling how it felt personally to be treated as inferior, unworthy human beings.

Iglehart's comments on the development of a series clearly illustrate his general points stated previously. For that reason, his description is included in full and follows:

> Although most Metroplex Assembly series have been concerned with public issues (local, national or international), the programs are designed to engage the viewer's qualitative judgments in a different, broader sense than is usually the case on 'public affairs-type' programs. Whether the subject is transportation, metropolitan government or urban renewal, the viewer is being asked to participate in a dialogue about the quality of living in his metropolitan area. He is invited to test his individual judgments, opinions and preferences against such basic questions as 'What kind of city do I want - what kind of environment will satisfy those essential human needs beyond food, clothing and shelter?' This isn't some high-blown aesthetic exercise - it simply tries to get basic value judgments out in the open so that we can ask better questions on specific problems, e.g., 'Is this traffic problem one of getting more cars from here to there or is it one of making it possible for people to get where they want to go - safely, rapidly, and with a minimum of jangled nerves and choked lungs?' - or 'Do I own my automobile (home) (TV set) - or does it own me?'

In most series, these implicit questions of value are 'built-in' - by the choice of guests, by the line of questioning, and by the use of supplementary reading materials and discussion guides. In at least one series, though, these questions actually determined the subject matter and the program's approach to it. This particular series (Spring 1959) had six programs, each devoted to an art form: architecture; painting; music; drama; motion pictures and illustration and design (commercial art). The programs were designed as inquiries into these arts in the city and their effect on the quality of living there. The individual artists who appeared were asked to give the viewer their personal ideas and attitudes about what contribution each art made to a more humane city and to nourishing more urbane citizens. Appropriate visual materials (aural, in the case of music) were used to underscore key ideas, and to enhance the visual 'tone' of the show.

Before giving a more detailed description of the programs, however, I would like to set down a rough chronological sketch of the key decisions made before production began.

The first decision in each series is the choice of a central subject or theme which can be adequately treated in six or eight programs. A list of suggested topics is prepared first by the CEC staff. This list contains suggestions by previous Viewing Post participants, by community organization specialists and by staff members personally. It is gone over and pared down at a preliminary staff meeting, then presented to a small committee of key community people who are familiar with the Metroplex format. Though many of them might be 'experts' in certain of the topics listed, they are chosen mainly as intelligent generalists whose opinions and ideas we respect.

After hearing their preferences, we are generally able to reduce the list to two or three 'most likely' topics from which the final selection is made by the CEC staff.

Our desicion to do this particular series on the arts was due in part to a desire to show that Metroplex was broader in scope than the usual issue or problem - oriented public affairs program.

To put it another way, we wished to make explicit and overt those questions of value which in other series were implicit and direct. The next decision after the choice of general subject area is the most difficult and crucial of all: establishing an effective framework for the inquiry and determining its focus. What is the point of this exercise? - and HOW do we construct the programs so that the viewer clearly sees the point, concedes its validity, and is willing to grapple with it? We must be precise without being arbitrary; instructive without being didactic; and hospitable to a wide intellectual range without ambiguity, timidity or condescension.

The next decision after what the series is about and how we'll tackle it is 'who shall we get to appear on the programs?' This was hard to separate from the choice of which art forms we'd treat. Poetry and Jazz (as 'lively' art) were considered early, but were dropped because we couldn't come up with a poet or jazzman who could talk well about his art form and the humane city. (Poetry was especially difficult, perhaps because it is the most private of the arts.) After a series of interviews, false starts and dead ends, we selected the six artists who seemed most provocative and articulate.

To supplement the content of each program, special reading material was prepared and made available to Viewing Post members. There were articles written by faculty members, informal discussion guides, and opinion ballots about key questions of value raised on the program.

After the general subject area and specific program themes and participants have been selected, the producer can now draft a rough production schedule and get down to the task of shaping each half-hour program and fitting all the pieces together.

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A COMPARISON OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF ADULT RESIDENTIAL AND NON-RESIDENTIAL LEARNING SITUATIONS

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PREFACE

This study constitutes a pioneering effort to conduct an empirical investigation into an area which has recently aroused much discussion and speculation. There have been many arguments for and many against residential adult education, but no research has been available to demonstrate any advantages or disadvantages attaching to "the residential experience." There is, however, at least one good explanation for this lack of research. The differences between the typical residential and the typical non-residential situation are so numerous (including content area, amount of material covered, objectives and the like), that situations which provide the suitable comparisons which might make for some logically valid conclusions are extremely rare.

The Center has for some time been interested in the residential-non-residential controversy, and has been aware of the inherent difficulties standing in the way of an adequate empirical effort to provide some evidence. Therefore, when in the summer of 1960, James Whipple (the Center's Assistant Director) and Harry Miller (then the Center's Assistant Director for Research) learned from H. R. Neville of the existence of two similar courses in insurance fundamentals (taught by the same instructor, for the same length of time, with the same objectives) differing only in that one took place in a residential setting and the other occurred in a city with the students going home every night, the near-perfect opportunity seemed available to do some solid research in this area.

Mr. A. A. Lacognata was then asked to undertake a study comparing the two. He agreed eagerly and has done, we believe, a very creditable job. He has pointed out what seem to be the crucial factors in differentiating the two kinds of educational experience, though of course, as he points out, this must be repeated with courses of different content and with different settings before generalizations can confidently be made.

The Center's interest in this area continues, and plans are already underway for investigations of other types based upon the residential experience.

Daniel Solomon,
Staff Associate,
Center for the Study of Liberal
Education for Adults

July, 1961

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A COMPARISON OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF ADULT RESIDENTIAL AND NON-RESIDENTIAL LEARNING SITUATIONS

Introduction

Education, in a generic sense, refers to the socialization of individuals. Adult education tends to emphasize those aspects of the socialization process which enable mature members of society to raise their intellectual horizons.

In its endeavors towards the development of the "total" man, the field of adult education has established a multiplicity of organizations and programs. This paper reports an investigation, conducted under experimental conditions, of one particular type of adult education program.*

Interest in adult residential programs is evidenced by the numerous articles published in the area.[1] However, experimental studies rigorously testing the effectiveness of adult residential learning situations as compared with alternative methods have been lacking.[2] This report ex-

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*The writer wishes to express his appreciation to Daniel Solomon for his critical reading of the report and for offering constructive suggestions.

1. For an extensive bibliographical coverage see J. D. Mezirow and D. Berry, Literature of Liberal Adult Education (New York: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1960), pp. 210-55. More recent publications include James Harrison, "Learning To Live in a Tower," Adult Education, Vol. XI, No. 1, Autumn 1960, pp. 42-47; and John Diekhoff, "Residential Education, No Place Like Home," Adult Education, Vol. X, No. 4, Summer 1960, pp. 238-46.

2. A reading of current adult education research reveals keen interest in the area but no specific experimental studies on this particular problem. See Edmund des Brunner et al., An Overview of Adult Education Research (Chicago: Adult Education Association of the U.S.A., 1959). Also Burton W. Kreitlow, "Research in Adult Education," in Handbook of Adult Education in the United States, Malcolm S. Knowles (ed.) (Chicago: Adult Education Association of the U.S.A., 1960), Chapter 9. Suggestions for needed research along the lines of the present study include David E. Wilder, "Group Research and Adult Education," in Brunner et al., op. cit., p. 195; and George Daigneault, "Improving

amines the effectiveness of certain aspects of adult learning under conditions of residential as compared with non-residential instruction.[3] More specifically, it seeks to test the hypothesis that for adults, the residential learning situation results in higher achievement. The basis for the hypothesized superiority of the residential situation as a learning setting is suggested by the following variables:

(a) The isolation of the educational experience accounts for superiority of residential programs. That is, the physical and psychological detachment from family and business matters tends to enhance residential learning.[4]

(b) The continuity of the learning experience accounts for the superiority of residential programs. Concentration of subject matter and uninterruptedness of program schedules provides an opportunity for the inclusion of more material as well as for explorations in greater depth.[5]

(c) Group support for change arising from the development of interpersonal relationships serves to facilitate the learning process. That is, opportunities for frequent student-instructor contacts and exchange of viewpoints among fellow students outside of formal class situations are more likely to develop in residential programs. Such interaction and communication, it is suggested, act as strong influences in developing a social climate making for superior achievement.[6]

Procedure and Method

Data for the experimental group were obtained from an eight-day residential course in insurance fundamentals. Sixty participants lived throughout the entire period at the Michigan State Kellogg Center for Continuing Education—sharing study rooms, eating together, and engaging in various other activities on a group basis. Data for the control

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the Effectiveness of Residential Learning" (Chicago: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, December, 1960), p. 4 (mimeographed).

[3] The initial impetus for this research project emanated from a series of communications between H. R. Neville, J. B. Whipple, and H. L. Miller. The research design was formulated primarily by H. L. Miller.

[4] Sometimes referred to as a "cultural island" environment. For general comments see W. H. Schmidt and E. V. Svenson, "Methods in Adult Education," in Knowles (ed.), op. cit., Chapter 7. Relevant studies on group research from the social sciences are cited by Wilder in Brunner et al., op. cit., Chapter 12.

[5] Wilder, ibid.

[6] Wilder, ibid., and Chapter 2 in Brunner et al., op. cit.

group were secured from an eight-day, concentrated, all-day, non-residential course in insurance fundamentals. Seventy-four participants were enrolled in the non-residential program which was conducted in Detroit. The basis of program selection by participants was voluntary and determined primarily by dates the program was being offered. Membership composition of both programs revealed similarities in terms of the inclusion of both sexes, rural and urban residents, a high proportion of neophytes in insurance, and a cross section of residents throughout the State.

Instructors, course objectives, class material and class time for both the residential and non-residential programs were essentially the same. An interval of approximately three weeks ensued between the scheduled starting dates of the two types of programs.

Instruments developed or employed to compare achievement between the groups centered around the insurance course objectives. Three devices were administered to both groups. These instruments were designed to measure two particular dimensions—knowledge acquisition and knowledge application.

An essay-type quiz[7] was developed for the research project by the head instructor and aimed at testing knowledge acquisition. Both groups took the same test and it was evaluated by the same instructor. The test scores served as indices of the extent of knowledge of insurance fundamentals acquired by participants.

Measures of knowledge application, i.e., how well participants could communicate and apply what they learned, were secured through the construction of a multiple-choice test.[8] This test was also developed and evaluated by the same instructor.

The third instrument combined the dimensions of knowledge acquisition and application. State insurance test results fulfilled this function. Upon completion of their respective programs, participants took the same State examination, and the test scores were considered as reasonably valid indices of acquisition and application. Evaluation of performance on the State examinations was conducted by State officials.

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[7] The test was developed by Mr. Carl Strong, the insurance administrator responsible for the courses. He also conducted most of the teaching in both programs. See Exhibit A in Appendix.

[8] See Exhibit B in Appendix.

It was suggested earlier that three interrelated factors—isolation, continuity, and group support—account for the hypothesized superiority of residential learning. Several additional instruments were employed to get at the interplay of these variables in the different programs.

To gather information on student-instructor contact, informal discussions, and other forms of behavior, a "residensity" instrument was developed.[9] This instrument was given to the participants on the last day of their respective programs. If the residential situation results in superior performance, then significant differences on these dimensions should be evident from the data.

Viewing overt behavior as the expression or reflection of attitudes, it follows that any changes in behavior indicate attitudinal changes. Thus, significant differences between the groups on behavioral dimensions should indicate significant changes in attitudes. Insofar as the insurance program had as one of its objectives to instill a "feeling of professionalization" on the part of participants, a further dimension for investigation presented itself. To measure attitudinal changes towards insurance as a profession, a modified insurance scale was utilized.[10] Identical scales were administered to both groups at the beginning and conclusion of the course sessions.

Comparison of General Characteristics

To ensure comparability between residential and non-residential groups, certain selected characteristics deemed important were examined. The analysis focused on whether any significant differences existed between the groups at the start of their respective programs.

Mean age was calculated and found to be 35.1 years and 36.9 years for residential and non-residential groups respectively. The difference was not statistically significant. Mental ability group tests (Otis) were administered, and group score averages of 104.9 and 101.9 for residentials and non-residentials respectively (again, a non-significant difference) indicated groups of similar ability in thinking power.

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[9] See Exhibit C in Appendix.

[10] Instrument originally developed for and tested on insurance agents by George C. Bubolz, The Property Insurance Agent: A Study in Professionalization, unpublished M.A. thesis, Michigan State University, 1958. Applicability of scale items for this study were checked with Mr. Carl Strong. Modification of scale was necessary in order to measure intensity and changes in participants' attitudes towards insurance as a profession. In its original form, the scale focused primarily on "degree of professionalization." See Exhibit D in Appendix.

Professional background characteristics[11] were also examined, and Table I summarizes the analyses on these variables.

TABLE I

A COMPARISON OF PROFESSIONAL CHARACTERISTICS BETWEEN RESIDENTIAL AND NON-RESIDENTIAL GROUPS*

Variable	Residential Group	Non-Residential Group	Analyses
	(N = 57)	(N = 66)	$X^2 = 1.69$
Work for an insurance agency			No significant difference
Yes	47%	59%	
No	53%	41%	
	(N = 57)	(N = 69)	$X^2 = .38$
Own insurance business			No significant difference
Yes	23%	19%	
No	77%	81%	
	(N = 59)	(N = 69)	$X^2 = 1.24$
Licensed agent			No significant difference
Yes	25%	17%	
No	75%	83%	
	(N = 55)	(N = 58)	$X^2 = 1.61$
Years of experience in the insurance field			No significant difference
Less than 3 years	75%	65%	
3 years or more	25%	35%	

*Since Ho = no differences, no direction is hypothesized; hence two-tailed tests were applied with the level of significance = .10.

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[11] See Exhibit E in Appendix for device used to secure information on professional background.

On the basis of results from Table I, we can conclude that the residential and non-residential groups are essentially similar in terms of professional background characteristics. The two groups appear to be equated on these variables.

However, inquiry on whether the two groups differed appreciably in "previous course work taken" did reveal a significant difference. The analysis is presented in Table II.

TABLE II

PREVIOUS INSURANCE COURSES TAKEN

	Yes	No	Totals
Residential group	36% (22)	64% (38)	100% (60)
Non-Residential group	14% (10)	86% (60)	100% (70)*
Totals	(32)	(98)	(130)

$X^2 = 8.00$ $P < .01$

*No response from four participants.

Residential participants had significantly more courses in the field of insurance than did the non-residentials prior to taking the present insurance program. This factor, based on the analysis from Table II, appears to be the only measured variable in which the two groups were not matched. In the analyses of performance on state examinations this variable was controlled for effect.

Tests of Achievement Hypothesis

An essay-type quiz was developed, administered, and evaluated by the responsible instructor for both programs. Test scores served as measures of how well participants had acquired knowledge of insurance fundamentals. Table III summarizes the results of scores on knowledge acquisition.

The hypothesized superiority of residential learning, insofar as knowledge acquisition is concerned, is conclusively borne out by the analysis in Table III. Residential members learned their course material on insurance fundamentals much better than did the non-residentials.

A second instrument for comparing learning achievement between

TABLE III

COMPARISON OF KNOWLEDGE ACQUISITION SCORES*

	Residential Group	Non-Residential Group	Totals
Number of scores above combined median	60% (41)	40% (27)	100% (68)
Number of scores below combined median	27% (17)	73% (46)	100% (63)
Totals	(58)	(73)	(131)**

$X^2 = 14.69$ $P < .001$

*An X^2 median test employed. Since direction is hypothesized, one-tail test applied with the level of significance = .05.

**Three did not take exam.

the two types of programs was a knowledge application test. This multiple-choice type exam was designed, administered, and evaluated by the same instructor. It tested the ability of participants to communicate and apply knowledge of insurance fundamentals acquired. Table IV contains the results and analyses.

TABLE IV

A COMPARISON OF KNOWLEDGE APPLICATION TEST SCORES*

	Passed	Failed	Totals
Residential group	80% (48)	20% (12)	100% (60)
Non-residential group	66% (49)	34% (25)	100% (74)
Totals	(97)	(37)	(134)

$X^2 = 3.153$ $.05 > P > .02$

*One-tail test applied with the level of significance = .05.

Residential members demonstrated superior performance on the dimension of knowledge application. The ability to communicate and apply insurance knowledge appears to be more successful in residential type learning situations. Evidence for this is apparent from Table IV which shows that eighty per cent of residentials performed satisfactorily as compared to only sixty-six per cent of the non-residentials.

Performance on the State insurance examinations was the third and external criterion employed to test our hypothesis of the superiority of residential learning. Our rationale for attaching great weight to the State examinations is based upon several factors. First, the majority of participants in both groups stated as their primary reason for taking the course that of "passing State exams or getting licensed." Secondly, the State exams combined both the dimensions of acquisition and application. Consequently, the results served as objective indicators on these dimensions. Thirdly, a primary objective of the programs, as viewed by the instructor, was to pass the State insurance examinations. Table V summarizes the State examination results.

TABLE V

STATE INSURANCE EXAMINATION TEST SCORE RESULTS*

	Passed	Failed	Totals
Residential group	80% (43)	20% (11)	100% (54)
Non-residential group	79% (57)	21% (16)	100% (73)
Totals	(100)	(27)	(127)**

$X^2 = .05 \quad .45 > P > .40$

*One-tail test applied with the level of significance = .05.

**Seven did not take State examinations.

The analysis of State exam scores indicates no significant difference between groups. Performance was approximately the same in terms of the combined dimensions of knowledge acquisition and application. The data suggest that the non-residential program was as effective as the residential program. This is further reinforced when considering the group test score averages of members who passed. The residential group had an average of 84.7 for its forty-three members, while the fifty-seven non-residentials' average was 84.0. Range and distribution of scores were also similar.

As indicated earlier, the two groups differed significantly in the area of "previous course work taken." To control for this variable, subgroupings were delineated and relationships to performance on State tests examined. The following tables summarize the relationships.

TABLE VI

COMPARISON OF STATE INSURANCE EXAMINATION RESULTS OF PARTICIPANTS WITH PREVIOUS COURSE WORK IN INSURANCE

	Passed	Failed	Totals
Residential group	86% (19)	14% (3)	100% (22)
Non-residential group	80% (8)	20% (2)	100% (10)
Totals	(27)	(5)	(32)

$X^2 = .003$ $.49 > P > .47$ (Yates correction employed)

TABLE VII

COMPARISON OF STATE INSURANCE EXAMINATION RESULTS OF PARTICIPANTS WITHOUT PREVIOUS COURSE WORK IN INSURANCE

	Passed	Failed	Totals[12]
Residential group	75% (24)	25% (8)	100% (32)
Non-residential group	74% (38)	26% (13)	100% (51)
Totals	(62)	(21)	(83)

$X^2 = .02$ $.45 > P > .40$ (Yates correction employed)

The inter-group analyses from Tables VI and VII show that achievement, with or without prior course work, was essentially the same in both types of programs.

Intra-group analyses were also carried out and resulted in similar findings. Residential members were dichotomized in terms of pass-fail and course work versus no course work. An identical table was constructed on the non-residentials. The results yielded no significant differences in performance.

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[12] Only respondents who took the State exam are considered. This constituted 84% (32/38) of the residentials. All sixty non-residentials took the State exams. However, to achieve comparability a random sample of 84% (51/60) of the non-residentials was taken. This, of course, does not remove the possibility that those residentials who did not take the exam were consistently different from those who did, and might have influenced the results accordingly had they taken the test.

In reviewing this section of the report, several comments appear necessary. Of the three types of analyses undertaken to test the hypothesized superiority of residential instruction, two conclusively support the hypothesis. The essay quiz and multiple-choice test results demonstrated a significant difference between the groups in favor of the residential participants. The analysis of performance on State exams, however, indicated no significant differences between programs. Why the inconsistent findings?

Several interrelated factors may shed some light on this question. First is the factor of evaluation. Two of the tests were devised and evaluated by the same instructor. He was aware of the study and of the hypotheses being tested. Perhaps the grading of the essay-quiz may have been unconsciously biased in favor of residential participants. This does not apply to the multiple-choice test by reason of its construction. Secondly, no control for effect of "previous course work taken" on the knowledge application and acquisition instruments was made. The necessary information for this control was lacking. Whether any differences would still have been uncovered remains speculative. Further, and unknown to the investigator until sometime after the data was collected, is the factor of the use of an insurance manual. Evidence, in the form of statements taken from focused interviews, revealed that non-residential participants had access to and studiously read an insurance manual specifically designed for passing State exams. No mention of this manual was evident from the interview material of residential participants. Thus, acquisition of additional factual knowledge on the part of non-residentials may have accounted for the lack of significant difference in performance on State examinations.

Despite the probable influence of these factors, significant differences between groups on acquisition and application were uncovered. Are any differences evident in other areas? More specifically, did such differences manifest themselves in behavioral dimensions? And further, are the behavioral differences, if any, in accord with the earlier reasoning associated with the central hypothesis? The next section deals with this part of the investigation.

Analysis of Behavioral Characteristics

As mentioned earlier, one of the primary aims of the insurance program was that of imparting to the participants a sense of professionalization. Something akin to attitudes held by people in the medical or legal professions was sought after.

Employing a modified attitude scale on insurance (see Exhibit D in Appendix), pre- and post-tests using the same instrument were administered to both groups. Table VIII presents the findings.

TABLE VIII

CHANGE IN "DEGREE OF PROFESSIONALIZATION"*

	Pre-Test of Attitudes		Post-Test of Attitudes	
	Range	Average	Range	Average
Residential group	20-34	24.9	19-31	25.6
Non-residential group	18-31	24.6	12-30	24.2
	$\bar{z}$ = .743		$\bar{z}$ = 2.73	
		NS	Significant at .01 level	

*Measure employed is the Standard Error of a Difference between Uncorrelated Means.

Pre-test results indicate similar orientations of attitudes by both groups on the professionalization dimension. That is, the two groups were not significantly different in their occupational self-images.

The post-test analysis reveals a significant shift in self-orientations on the part of residentials. Members exposed to residential instruction viewed themselves, upon completion of the program, as "professionals" to a greater extent than non-residentials. The latter group revealed self-orientations more akin to "businessmen" and "salesmen."

One implication emerging from this analysis on attitudes is that effective changes in self-perceptions are more likely to occur in social environments afforded by residential instruction.

Another dimension selected for analysis on group behavior was out-of-class study patterns. Data on group phenomena relating to study patterns were secured through the "residensity" instrument (Exhibit C in Appendix). Again our inquiry concerned itself with whether any differences existed between the groups. Table IX summarizes the findings.

TABLE IX

OUT-OF-CLASS STUDY PATTERNS*

Question	Residential Group	Non-Residential Group	Analysis
Did you do any studying outside of class?	(N = 59)	(N = 70)	$X^2 = 3.54$ $.10 > P > .05$
Yes	100%	91%	
No	0%	9%	
Average amount of time per day spent studying outside of class	(N = 59)	(N = 64)	$X^2 = 5.25$ (df = 3) No significant difference
1 hour or less	20%	23%	
1-2 hours	30%	47%	
2-3 hours	36%	20%	
3 or more hours	14%	9%	
Did you do any out-of-class studying with other members?	(N = 59)	(N = 70)	$X^2 = 47.49$ $P < .001$
Yes	87%	26%	
No	13%	74%	
How was out-of-class studying time spent?	(N = 59)	(N = 66)	$X^2 = 47.29$ (df = 2) $P < .001$
Mostly alone	23%	85%	
Sometimes alone	41%	9%	
Usually with others	36%	6%	

*Two-tailed tests used with the level of significance = .10.

In terms of average amount of time spent studying outside of class, the groups did not differ. On all other dimensions, however, significant differences were indicated. More specifically, a higher percentage of the residential members studied outside of formal class sessions than non-residentials. In addition, a greater percentage of residentials studied more often in concert with fellow students.

These findings suggest several points worthy of comment. The fact that neither group differed significantly in average number of hours spent studying outside of class implies a probable difference in quality of study patterns. Further, the motivation to study appears to be influenced by the social climate of residential programs. Evidence for this can be seen by the percentage figures—100% for residentials as against 91% for the non-residentials. Also, opportunity for interaction with fellow students afforded by the residential situation would seem to encourage communication and expression of viewpoints not feasible under other learning conditions. This cross-fertilization of ideas is more likely to extend itself into non-study periods under residential situations.

The question then is, given two groups of participants spending equal time on studying, what factors account for the differences in performance, attitudes, and study habits? It is suggested that under conditions of residential learning the quality of studying, motivation to study, and the opportunity for cross-fertilization of ideas account (in part) for the differences uncovered.

Do such differences manifest themselves in other spheres of behavior? Analyses on aspects of behavior focusing on out-of-class, free time patterns were conducted. Table X presents the analyses in response to this inquiry.

Significant differences on both questions were uncovered. A greater percentage of residential participants associated with their fellow students than did non-residentials during non-studying periods. Similarly, approximately 84% of this free time was devoted to discourse on insurance, as contrasted to only 51% on the part of the non-residentials. This seems to suggest that residentials, by extending conversations beyond formal sessions and study periods, tend to "live" their material.

Having investigated the areas of professional characteristics, achievement performance, and selected behavioral features in the residential and non-residential groups, there remains a discussion of the case interview materials.

Analysis of Interviews

The data was secured through focused interviews from thirty-one respondents. Fifteen residentials and sixteen non-residentials, randomly selected, were interviewed on the last day of their respective programs. Each interview session was approximately one-half hour.

It was hoped that this interview material would furnish additional

TABLE X

ASPECTS OF BEHAVIOR INDICATING HOW OUT-OF-CLASS FREE TIME WAS SPENT

Question	Residential Group	Non-Residential Group	Analysis
	(N = 58)	(N = 66)	
How was out-of-class free time spent?			$X^2 = 18.61$
Mostly alone	5%	36%	(df = 2)
Sometimes alone	36%	18%	$P < .001$
Usually with others	58%	45%	
	(N = 58)	(N = 66)	
How much free time spent with other participants was devoted to discussing course topics and program?			$X^2 = 18.83$ (df = 2)
Most or much of the time	46%	17%	$P < .001$
Some of the time	38%	34%	
Very little or none of the time	15%	49%	

evidence on opinions expressed towards program, instructors, and fellow students. Also, there existed the possibility of uncovering dimensions missed through the employment of conventional devices. A content analysis of the case interviews of residential and non-residential participants follows.

The general type of category employed in undertaking the analysis of the case interviews was that of substance. Under the rubric of substance, the analysis focused primarily on topic or subject matter. The emphasis was on "what is the communication about"? In addition to the topic of the communication, the analysis centered on evidences of positive and negative evaluation.

The unit of analysis selected for study was the "theme," that is, a simple sentence, statement, or assertion about a subject matter. Frequency of occurrence served as the basis for the tabulation of themes and the construction of categories. The attention given to the categories was determined by the responses of the interviewees, rather than by dimensions established a priori.

A cursory examination of the interview material indicated three general topics of communication: references to program, instructors, and fellow students. Within each of the areas, various sub-categories were delineated. The tables below summarize the information from residential and non-residential interview materials on these dimensions. Percentage figures represent frequency of occurrence and the evaluation by respondents on that particular category or sub-category (+ indicates positive evaluation; -, negative evaluation).

TABLE XI

SUMMATION OF INTERVIEW RESPONSES ON THE GENERAL CATEGORIES

	Program			Instructors			Fellow Students		
	+	-		+	-		+	-	
Residential group	68%	32%	N = 93 100%	67%	33%	N = 99 100%	90%	10%	N = 71 100%
Non-residential group	66%	34%	N = 130 100%	65%	35%	N = 118 100%	77%	23%	N = 56 100%

Data from the table on general categories reveals the following. Although there is a consistent trend for a higher positive evaluation by residential participants on all three categories, a sizable difference shows up only on fellow student evaluation. Residentials not only commented more frequently about their associates but the percentage of positive remarks was higher. Data collected from the residensity instrument on attitudes toward fellow students lend support to the findings from the interviews. Table XIII presents this analysis on attitudes towards associates.

A significant difference in the expression of attitudes about fellow students is evident from Table XIII. Residential participants had more student contacts and a higher percentage of positive evaluations than the non-residentials. Less than 50% of non-residential members became

TABLE XII

SUMMATION OF INTERVIEW RESPONSES ON THE SUB-CATEGORIES

Sub-Categories	Residential Group			Non-Residential Group		
	+	-		+	-	
			N = 93			N = 130
I Program						
Organization/contents	15%	7%	22%	18%	4%	22%
Daily pace and length	6.5%	6.5%	13%	15%	17%	32%
Over-all length of session	6.5%	18.5%	25%	6%	9%	15%
Quizzes	5%	0%	5%	3%	2%	5%
General impressions	35%	0%	35%	24%	2%	26%
			100%			100%
			N = 99			N = 118
II Instructors						
Chief responsible instructor	17%	0%	17%	28%	0%	28%
Methods of presentation	12%	18%	30%	12%	22%	34%
General impressions of all teachers	38%	15%	53%	25%	13%	38%
			100%			100%
			N = 71			N = 56
III Fellow Students						
Formal table discussions	26%	3%	29%	34%	7%	41%
Informal group discussions	21%	0%	21%	29%	5%	34%
Exchange of points of view	24%	0%	24%	7%	2%	9%
General comments	20%	6%	26%	7%	9%	16%
			100%			100%

intimately acquainted with their classmates. Both the comments from the interview material and the data from the residensity device lend support to this relationship of student contact and positive evaluation of associates.

Data on the sub-categories (Table XII) reveal general agreement in emphasis by both groups on organization and content, quizzes, and methods of presentation.

TABLE XIII

ATTITUDES EXPRESSED ABOUT FELLOW STUDENTS

Item	Residential Group (N = 59)	Non-Residential Group (N = 68)
Met quite a few and liked them	66%	41%
Did not get to meet very many	22%	34%
Group members all right but too busy for personal and social contacts	10%	22%
Welcomed being alone when possible	2%	3%

$X^2 = 8.15$ (df = 3) $.05 > P > .02$

Differences in emphasis are apparent on the dimensions of daily pace and length and over-all length of sessions. Although the opinions expressed were similar in content, the non-residentials appeared to attach greater significance to the daily pace and length of program—32% of their remarks were devoted to this aspect of the program as contrasted to only 13% by the residentials. Comments on over-all length of session reveal the reverse pattern: residentials devoted more of their remarks to this dimension than non-residentials. Further, both groups were more negative in their evaluation on this dimension, with the residentials registering a higher percentage.

In the area of instructor evaluation, both groups had nothing but praise for the chief responsible instructor. However, non-residentials attached greater weight to his presence in the formal class sessions. Student-instructor contact outside of formal class hours revealed that patterns of interaction were more frequent among residentials. Table XIV presents the analysis.

Residential members had significantly more contacts with instructors outside of class than the non-residentials. Apparently, the greater emphasis on positive evaluation by non-residentials of instructors seems plausible in terms of compensation. That is, lacking the conditions for

TABLE XIV

CONTACTS WITH INSTRUCTOR OUTSIDE OF CLASS

Item	Residential Group (N = 59)	Non-Residential Group (N = 70)
Numerous contacts	2%	3%
Occasional contacts	37%	16%
A few contacts	42%	39%
No contacts	18%	43%

$X^2 = 12.00$ (df = 3) $.05 > P > .02$

frequent interaction with instructors, non-residential participants tend to compensate for this disadvantage by attaching greater importance to instructors when they are available—namely in the formal class sessions.

The area of greatest difference in evaluation between the groups was on comments relating to fellow students. Specifically, this is true of the remarks devoted to group discussions and exchange of viewpoints.

Formal table discussions took on greater significance for non-residential participants. Informal group discussions appear more important for the residential members. Such findings are consistent in terms of the basic differences in learning settings.

Of particular interest is the fact that a much larger percentage of residentials than non-residentials mentioned the dimension of exchange of viewpoints, and all considered it a distinct contribution to their learning. Of the much smaller percentage of non-residentials who mentioned this dimension, a majority also considered it a contribution to their learning.

In summarizing the findings from the analysis of case interviews, four points emerge as significant. First, residential participants viewed their learning experiences in a more positive framework than non-residentials. Secondly, interaction with fellow students and instructors was more frequent among the residentials. Thirdly, in the evaluation of fellow students, the residential participants expressed opinions indicating closer ties and companionship than the non-residentials. Finally, the most distinct difference as related to the learning process was the exchange of viewpoints. Residentials viewed the exchange of ideas and opinions on insurance fundamentals as central to their learning. The informal group discussions provided the occasions for such exchanges.

Summary

This research was concerned with investigating the effectiveness of residential and non-residential learning programs. The central hypothesis tested was that residential instruction results in superior achievement. The foci of analyses centered on the exploration of differences between the two types of instruction.

Experimental and control conditions were instituted, using as subjects members enrolled in an insurance fundamentals course. Necessary demographic and professional characteristics of participants were secured and analyzed for purposes of achieving comparability.

Instruments employed for investigation included an essay-quiz, a multiple-choice test, State examination scores, and focused interviews. Both groups were exposed to the same devices.

Dimensions examined for analysis were knowledge acquisition and knowledge application of insurance course material. Behavioral characteristics included attitudes relating to the insurance profession and fellow students, patterns of interaction with instructors and associates, and opinions of the programs in general.

The analyses uncovered the following significant differences. Residential members' performance on the separate examinations of knowledge acquisition and knowledge application was superior. When these two dimensions were combined in the State examinations, the non-residentials performed as well as the residentials. That is, no significant differences in performance on the State insurance examinations were evident between the two groups.

Changes in attitudes towards insurance as a "profession" differentiated residentials from the non-residentials. Pre-tests of attitudes indicated no differences; post-tests indicated significantly greater "professionalism" on the part of residential participants.

Out-of-class study patterns showed no differences between the groups in terms of average amount of time per day spent on studies. However, significant differences as to studying in concert with others were uncovered. Residential members studied more often with their fellow students whereas 85% of the non-residentials usually studied alone. Also, more of the residential participants studied outside of class hours.

Aspects of behavior indicating how out-of-class free time was spent produced similar findings. The differences revealed that residential members associated with their fellow students to a greater extent than the non-residentials. Further, discussion engaged in on the part of the residential participants during out-of-class hours was usually devoted to program topics. That is, 84% of the residentials' conversations during out-of-class hours were discourses on insurance, as contrasted with only 51% for the non-residentials.

A content analysis of thirty-one focused interviews furnished additional specific information. On the general categories of "program" and "instructors" there were similarities in evaluation. Distinct differences on "fellow student" evaluation were uncovered. Residentials met and liked their associates more often than non-residentials.

Under the specific categories, differences in such factors as student-instructor contacts and exchange of viewpoints were uncovered. Non-residentials had significantly less contact with instructors and less often exchanged viewpoints on insurance with their fellow students.

With this cursory review of the research, a few brief comments on selected aspects of the study are offered.

Isolation Variable

The differences between the two groups on this variable were basic. Its importance and relevance to effective learning is best illustrated by citing several comments taken from the interviews.

Residential Case #4

> "I spent much more time studying here than if I would have been somewhere else."

Residential Case #7

> "You don't have outside activities interfering; you get away from your everyday problems; you forget all your family problems that you ordinarily would be having if you were there."

Residential Case #10

> "I would rather take the course here; I live in [name of city] and I

know what the temptations are when you are not living with something."

Residential Case #12

"No outside interference; no family to worry about; I prefer it this way."

Residential Case #14

"I think it would be impossible for us to go home every night and do your regular work and try to study like you should."

Non-Residential Case #2

"I think staying away [from home] would be conducive to study."

Non-Residential Case #16

"Wished I had attended [name of city where residential program was held]; I have not been able to study after class; family has outside activities planned every evening."

These illustrations suffice to indicate the significance of physical and psycholcgical detachment offered by residential programs. Isolation appears to be a necessary condition providing the potential for effective study.

However, the data on out-of-class study patterns revealed no differences between groups on average time spent on studies. What then are the crucial factors making for effective study in residential learning situations? Isolation, though a necessary condition, does not appear to be a sufficient condition. It is suggested that the crucial determinants making for effectiveness are continuity and group influence.

Continuity Variable

The second fundamental difference between residential and non-residential instruction is program structure. Residential instruction imparts information on a continuous regular basis. Non-residential instruction is characterized by regular non-continuous dissemination of information. The import of this difference resides in the emphasis given to the learning processes.

Continuity in program schedule tends to assign primacy to the learning processes. Under residential conditions, the participants' energies are channeled so that "learning" becomes the primary activity. There is a relative absence of competition for the residential member's time and attention.

For the non-residential member, there is the central problem of allocation of time and energies. "Learning" becomes one of several influences vying for the member's attention.

Group Influence Variable

Evidence for positing group influence as a determinant making for effective study comes from the interviews. The comments below are representative examples.

Residential Case #2

> "Helpful experience to be associated with so many different people; a worthwhile experience."

Residential Case #3

> "Talk to each other; hashed out questions."

Residential Case #4

> "Association has been excellent with my roommates and boys down the hall; all done well to help one another; got with the fellows, they were studying so they encouraged me to study along with them."

Residential Case #6

> "Sometimes we congregated in fours; discussed different subjects; get each other's opinions and really accomplish a lot."

Residential Case #15

> "We got together and studied."

These illustrations convey the importance of group influence as related to study habits. The comments reinforce the findings on out-of-class study patterns summarized in Table IX.

Conclusion

Several limitations characterized the present study. Perhaps more problems were uncovered than resolved. The research tends to support the hypothesized superiority of residential instruction. It has been suggested that the combined interrelated variables of isolation, continuity, and group influence are the determinants making for superior performance in residential programs.

Further research is needed, however, to help clarify several problems that emerged from the study. These include:

(a) Are there likely to be significant differences between residential and non-residential instruction in liberal arts programs? This study dealt with a vocational-content program.

(b) What specifically is meant by knowledge acquisition and application? Operational definitions of these concepts are lacking.

(c) What is the relationship between forms of knowledge and types of instruction? For adult students, are lectures, discussions, and/or independent study more effective for developing ability to conceptualize and manipulate abstractions?

(d) Is prior experience a factor making for better learning in residential programs?

Further exploratory study should enable us to clarify some of these problems.

APPENDIX

Exhibit A: Knowledge Acquisition Quiz

(1) A filling station needs insurance. Would you cover this risk with a Form 18 Building and Contents Form or a Filling Station Form 6? Which form and why?

(2) A seasonal dwelling carries a higher than dwelling rate. How would you adjust the published rate to give him credit for his individual risk? What credits are possible?

(3) An insured has a $15,000 dwelling covered under Fire and EC. At renewal, would you suggest the same coverage or a Homeowners Policy? What coverage and why, listing advantages.

Exhibit B: Knowledge Application Test

Basic Fundamentals Institute Exam

Composite Fire Examination

1. Under a Michigan Standard Fire Policy, two of the following have an insurable interest. (MARK TWO)
   - A. A relative of the owner of a building who is sure to inherit the property at the death of the owner
   - B. The trustee for the benefit of the estate of the deceased
   - C. The contract purchaser of the property
   - D. The money lender who loaned money on a personal note
2. Under a Michigan Standard Policy, two of the following statements are correct. (MARK TWO)
   - A. In case of loss, policy grants pro-rate coverage for 10 days at each location to which property may be moved to protect it from the perils insured against
   - B. Manuscripts may be covered, provided they are endorsed on the policy
   - C. Policy can be cancelled by the company at any time only if the unearned premium is refunded at the same time
   - D. Policy must be endorsed to cover described building that is vacant beyond 60 days
3. Under a Michigan Standard Policy, three of the following losses are excluded. (MARK THREE)
   - A. Business interruption loss
   - B. Loss caused by enemy attack by armed forces
   - C. Loss from fire resulting from a riot
   - D. Loss caused by theft
4. The Michigan Standard Policy can be assigned from one owner to another in one of the following ways. (MARK ONE)
   - A. By written consent of the agent acting on behalf of company
   - B. By realtor making notation on the policy at the time he handles the sale or transfer
   - C. By the local agent completing a removal permit
   - D. By seller giving policy to the buyer
5. The Michigan Standard Policy is voided when one of the following occur. (MARK ONE)
   - A. Insured wilfully misrepresents any material fact concerning the property
   - B. Company has not been advised that mortgage was fully paid
   - C. Fire caused by rioters destroyed property
   - D. Insured rents space to a grocery store that was formerly occupied by a mattress factory

6. The extended coverage endorsement, which is added to the Michigan Standard Policy protects against two of the following losses. (MARK TWO)

A. Wind driven ice from lake damaging foundation of cottage
B. Windstorm damage to T.V. aerial on dwelling
C. Damage to insured's dwelling by a delivery truck
D. Explosion of hot water heater

7. The special Auto Filling Station Form may be used to insure two of the following types of risks. (MARK TWO)

A. Filling station with attached and communicating repair garage
B. Frame gas station in the country, owned and operated by the insured
C. Filling station owned and operated by the insured and only a single amount of insurance blanketed over building and contents
D. A filling station, only if the rate used is the one published in the two rate book or on town rate cards

8. Two of the following are correct with respect to Business Interruption Insurance. (MARK TWO)

A. Salaries of important employees are covered
B. Only 1/12 of the total amount of insurance can be collected in any one month
C. This type of insurance can only be written on a manufacturing plant
D. Can be written to cover more than one location, if insured's operations are spread over several locations

9. One of the following statements is correct in connection with 90% co-insurance clause. (MARK ONE)

A. It restricts the insurance to less than 90% of the cash value of the property
B. The insured can collect only 90% of any loss
C. The clause cannot be used when policy covers mercantile stock
D. The clause states that insured agrees to carry 90% insurance to value, at time of loss, and failing to do so, becomes a coinsurer to the extent of the deficiency

10. Which three of the following statements are correct with respect to Dwelling Form #49. (MARK THREE)

A. 10% of the amount of insurance on Item I may be used to cover rental value, but limited to 1/12 of the 10% per month
B. 10% of the amount of insurance on Item I may be used to cover all or any outbuilding on the premises
C. Unlimited vacancy is permitted without notice
D. Trees and shrubs may be specifically insured

11. Which two of the following statements are correct. (MARK TWO)

A. Vandalism and Malicious Mischief endorsement may be added to any policy whether the Extended Coverage Endorsement is attached or not
B. The Vandalism and Malicious Mischief Endorsement has a $50 deductible clause
C. The Vandalism and Malicious Mischief Endorsement excludes damage to glass except glass building blocks
D. The Broad Form 490 endorsement covers Vandalism and Malicious Mischief

12. Referring to the Michigan Standard Policy, which of the following statements are correct? (MARK TWO)

    A. Insured shall render to company a proof of loss within 60 days after the loss, unless the time is extended in writing by the company
    B. Insured shall give written notice of loss within 60 days to the company
    C. Company should pay loss within 60 days after receipt of proof, but actually the limit is 30 days in Michigan
    D. Company must accept the completed proof of loss and make payment for same

13. The Michigan Standard Policy makes provision for two of the following. (MARK TWO)

    A. The company has the option to take all, or any part, of the property at the agreed or appraised value, in case of loss, but must give written notice of its intention within 30 days after receipt of proof.
    B. Company may require the insured to give assignment of right of recovery from party causing the loss
    C. Insured may insist that the company repair or replace property damage instead of accepting cash payment
    D. Insured may start suit or action for recovery any time within 24 months after inception of loss

14. Insured has policy covering his dwelling and has $6,000 on Item I on Form #49. In addition to his loss of $1,200 on the dwelling, he sustains a rental value loss of $90 for the one and one-half months that the dwelling could not be occupied. How much can he recover under the rental value option of the policy? (MARK ONE)

    A. $90
    B. $60
    C. $75
    D. $50

15. If the insured has $5,000 on Item I of Form 49 he could apply, in case of loss, up to $500 on which of the following buildings located on the same premises. (MARK THREE)

    A. Private garage rented to neighbor for storage of neighbor's automobile
    B. Shed used for storage of baled hay and neighbor's combine and other farm machinery
    C. Boathouse where insured keeps his speedboat
    D. Small building used by insured for his hobby of woodworking

16. A fire and extended coverage policy is in effect. Insured wants the extended coverage deleted. How must it be done?

    A. Cancel extended coverage portion on pro-rata basis
    B. Cancel entire policy on pro-rata basis
    C. Cancel extended coverage portion on short rate basis
    D. Cancel entire policy on short rate basis

17. Assume a building with an insurable value of $20,000 is insured for $6,000 and the policy contains the 90% coinsurance clause. In the event of a loss amounting to $3,000 the assured would collect $____?

    A. $500

B. $1,000
C. $2,000
D. $2,700

Suppose the loss were $9,000—the assured would collect $_____?

A. $1,000
B. $2,700
C. $3,000
D. $5,000

Suppose the loss were $20,000—the assured would collect $_____?

A. $6667.67
B. $2,700
C. $5,000
D. $6,000

18. The deposit premium on a reporting form policy is figured at a percentage of the rate multiplied by the limit of liability. This per cent is _____%

A. 25
B. 50
C. 75
D. 100

The minimum premium on this form is _____ annually

A. $5
B. $100
C. $200
D. None

19. Company "A" has a policy for $10,000
Company "B" has a policy for $20,000
The property has an insured loss of $3,000. What would company "A" pay?

A. $500
B. $1,000
C. $2,000
D. $3,000

20. A policy may be increased after its effective date. (MARK ONE)

A. By endorsement if an additional premium is always charged
B. By endorsement, but an additional premium is charged only if it is more than $1.00

21. When a dwelling is located outside the limits of a city or town, it can be considered under fire protection and enjoy a lower rate. (MARK ONE)

A. If the area is so certified by the Michigan Inspection Bureau
B. If the company writing the policy agrees to special rate treatment
C. If it is not more than one mile from the city limits
D. If a fire hydrant is located within 2,000 feet

22. The appraisal provisions of the Michigan Standard Policy operates only when the assured and the company fail to agree on the: (MARK TWO)

A. Actual cash value of the property
B. Amount of the loss
C. The cause of the loss
D. All difference of opinion when adjusting a loss

23. The Building and Contents Form #18 contains the following conditions. (MARK TWO)

A. Cloth awnings are not covered for damage by wind or hail unless the 80% or higher coinsurance clause applies
B. Cloth awnings are covered for damage by wind or hail only if the property of the owner of the building and then only if the 80% coinsurance clause applies
C. Plumbing equipment is considered a part of the building items
D. Customers' goods can be written only as a separate item and then only if 80% coinsurance applies to the item

24. Assume you have a five-year, cash policy for $5,000 on your household furniture. It has been in force for four years when you move into a new house. If the rate on your old house were 20¢ annually and the rate on the new house were 10¢ annually, what would your return premium be?

A. $22
B. $4.40
C. $17.60
D. None since less than $2

Exhibit C: Residensity Instrument

As part of the regular research program of Continuing Education, we are interested in knowing how participants spend their out-of-class hours. We thank you for your cooperation in answering the following questions.

1. Tell us in what program you participated: (Check one)
   Participated in the program at ________ City ______
   Participated in the program at ________ Center ______

2. Did you do any studying outside of class?
   (Check one)
   Yes ________
   No ________

3. If your answer is yes to number (2), please indicate the average amount of time per day you spend studying outside of class:
   (Check one)
   1 hour or less per day _______
   1-2 hours per day _______
   2-3 hours per day _______
   3 or more hours per day _______

4. Did you do any out-of-class studying in company with other members of your group
   (Check one)
   Yes ________
   No ________

5. Tell us how you spent your out-of-class studying time:
   (Check one)
   I studied most of the time by myself ________
   I studied most of the time with my roommate ________
   I studied most of the time with different people ________
   My studying time was divided; some of the time with various other members and some of the time by myself ________
   I studied most of the time with a particular group ________

6. Tell us with whom you spent most of your out-of-class-free time:

(Check one)

I spent most of my non-studying time by myself ________

I spent most of my non-studying time with my roommate ________

I spent most of my non-studying time with different people ________

My non-studying time was divided; some of the time by myself and some of the time with various other persons ________

I spent most of my non-studying time with a particular group ________

7. Generally, how much of your free time spent with other participants was devoted to discussion of topics connected with the course program?

(Check one)

Most of my free time spent discussing course topics ________

Much of my free time spent discussing course topics ________

Some of my free time spent discussing course topics ________

Very little of my free time spent discussing course topics ________

I did not engage in discussing course topics with other participants ________

8. Did you have much contact with the instructor out of class (e.g., lunch, evenings, coffee breaks, etc.)

(Check one)

I talked with him a good deal about problems connected with the program ________

I talked with him occasionally ________

I had a few brief contacts with him ________

I had no contacts with him out of class ________

9. Finally, we would be interested in knowing your general feelings about your fellow students:

(Check one)

A lot of the people I met here I liked and I would go out of my way to get together with them in the future ________

I liked one or two persons I met very much, but I didn't get to know many of the group members ________

In general, the group members were alright but I was too busy for social or personal contacts ________

It was tiring being with so many people continuously and I welcomed being alone when possible ________

Exhibit D: Professionalization Scale

We are interested in finding out how insurance agents think of themselves. Below are a list of items often associated with insurance agents. Rate each of the following items in terms of your image of an insurance agent.

Check the appropriate column opposite each item.

Items	Ratings			
	Always Important	Usually Important	Sometimes Important	Never Important
Ability to speak effectively	___	___	___	___
Drive or persistence	___	___	___	___
Knowledge of specific policies	___	___	___	___
Much training and schooling	___	___	___	___
Keeping up with new developments in the insurance field	___	___	___	___
Ability to get along well with people	___	___	___	___
Careful analysis of risk programming	___	___	___	___
Persuasive manner	___	___	___	___
Good personal appearance	___	___	___	___
Personally adjusting claims and keeping policies up to date	___	___	___	___

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY EVENING COLLEGE

As Observed in Ten Urban Universities

JAMES T. CAREY
Survey Research Center, University of California
Berkeley, California

CENTER *for the* **STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS**

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PREFACE

The following research can be classified as a qualitative case study approach where the emphasis is on gathering data of a quasi-clinical nature preparatory to more precise formalization. Little agreement has yet been reached on what classification system is best used in studying large organizations like a university. Investigators, however, continue to add to the stockpile of research so that a more comprehensive codification will be possible. To put it more popularly, sociology is still in its natural history stage of development in looking at larger organizations. A diversity of approaches and methods characterizes this stage. At a subsequent period in the history of sociology, that approach which has produced the most enduring accomplishments will shape the concern of future investigators. For the present the student of university life can continue the effort initiated here by using the same units which have been identified as important and probing further for generic relations and processes.

In this study the investigator began with a vague formulation about what was important and decisive in the formation of the adult division. Before this could be clarified, a deep immersion in the phenomena was required so that relationships could be discovered. The results have described these relationships. Since in the case method we are looking for clues or hunches as to what is important, we are not centrally concerned with the distribution of certain traits or attributes in the population studied. This comes later, after the units themselves have been clarified.

The investigator was impressed by the search for identity among the divisions studied, the attempts to discover the distinctive contribution adult schools have to make within the university structure. Later investigations have built upon this research* and pointed up the closer integration of the university's community arm with its central purposes which has occurred since. But the story of this search for identity and the processes by which it emerges establishes the foundation upon which a more systematic study of university life can grow. The cycle of growth delineated herein provides us with a framework for looking at institutional life. For the researcher it is a beginning which organizes otherwise disparate data; for the university person the framework provides a series of questions that can be asked at each stage of growth so that his own area to choose is expanded. It would be a mistake to view the evolution of the evening division as inevitable, on the one hand, or the result of skillful maneuvering within the university system by charlatans, on the other. The developments are more complex than that. The evolution in the last analysis requires the coincidence of men with vision, adults with unfulfilled aspirations and a university ready to meet the challenge.

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*See James T. Carey, Forms and Forces in University Adult Education (Chicago: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1961).

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INTRODUCTION

This study deals with the emergence of the university evening school on the American scene, the historical circumstances under which this university service developed, the dynamics of evening school operation and the social relationships which permeate the performance of the task of the evening school.

In 1890 one of the first formal attempts on the part of universities was made to supply the educational needs of adults at night in urban centers. Evening schools or adult education divisions were formed to coordinate this activity. After World War I, during the 30's and after World War II, student enrollment boomed. At present this university function is well on its way to being institutionalized. I propose to study this process of institutionalization, how the adult education division has evolved from a weak service agency of the university to divisional status.

In the educational enterprise a situation arose that was not anticipated nor planned for. This was the demand on the part of business and industrial groups for a kind of training that universities could give them. Classes were set up, usually by the business school in the evening, to take care of this need. At this point we can see the beginning of

> . . . those processes by which collective behavior which begins outside formal offices and without formal rules, engaged in by unconventional groups of people in unexpected situations or in ways contrary to use and wont, develop formal offices, organized groups, defined situations, and a new body of sanctioned use and wont.[1]

This demand on the part of the business community can be seen from the university's point of view as a "crisis situation" out of which arose a new institutional unit—or the formation of a new unit in the educational enterprise. The university tried to meet this situation by extending some of its daytime functions into the evening with a part-time director. As the evening operation became larger, however, some new kind of organization was required. Here the "promoter" or "coordinator" type emerged in the incipient phases of the development of this new institutional unit. As this evening activity became consolidated the "director" of adult programs appeared on the scene. And finally the director was given academic status by calling him a "dean." The life cycle of this new unit can thus be traced through (1) formal control by the day department with a part-time director (2) emergence of the "promoter" or "coordinator" type, usually called a director and (3) appointment of the adult education "dean."

---

[1] E. C. Hughes, "Institutions," Part V of An Outline of the Principles of Sociology, ed. A. M. Lee (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1953), p. 227.

This brief history of the development of the adult education division does not, however, do justice to the complexities of the cycle. At each stage in the growth of the adult education division new functions were added that overlaid the special limited purpose with which the evening operation started. Stabilization can occur when the adult division most closely approximates the model of a traditional university division, like the liberal arts division, i.e., when the social structure is complex and formal and the leadership is official and professionalized, while the normative system in explicit, specific and comprehensive.

If one analyzes this most traditional and status-encrusted university division, the liberal arts college, the basis of its power within the larger institutional framework, one finds a number of characteristics related to its controlling position. Our thesis is that adult education units, in order to enhance their own positions, tend to develop in the direction of those characteristics. (1) There is a tendency to develop a stable student body committed for a certain period of time. In the day liberal arts division there is a fairly homogenous student body committed for a specified period of time. Recruitment of this student body is systematic and predictable. Cultural expectations ensure that at least one third of all people of college age will go to college. This situation does not prevail in the adult unit. Generally, students are older and their commitment is less sustained. Recruitment is less systematic and less predictable than the day divisions because cultural expectations do not reinforce the concept of "life-long learning." (2) There is a tendency to choose a dean from the academic world rather than business and a tendency to develop a full-time faculty teaching in the evening division. There is in the liberal arts division a tenure and promotion system. Professional careers proceed by relatively fixed steps and the principle of seniority generally prevails. There is a low turnover of faculty and administrative staff. In the adult unit, on the other hand, the dean does not have to come from the academic world or have a Ph.D—but the trend is in this direction. Generally, there is no tenure and promotion system. The adult dean shares his hiring and firing functions with other university administrators and there is a higher faculty and administrative turnover than in the day division. (3) There is a tendency toward a wide selection of traditional programs. The liberal arts division is empowered to grant degrees and set up course offerings without recourse to any other decision-making body in the university. The liberal arts division has a corner on certain understandings, appreciations, and skills which it alone transmits. Since the adult unit is not, or cannot be, an exact replica of the liberal arts division, it usually does not grant degrees or set up course offerings without recourse to other decision-making bodies within the university. What it can do is to get as wide a selection as possible of daytime programs with involvement of day departments in planning and joint appointment faculty systems. This, combined with a number of income-producing non-credit programs, I would hypothesize, increases the evening division's power within the university system. (4) There is a tendency to develop a substantial amount of capital equipment. The traditional liberal arts division usually has a separate building on campus with a substantial amount of space, classrooms, libraries and lounges. It sometimes has an endowment. The adult unit, on the other hand, usually has less space than the liberal arts division and generally does not have an endowment. The permanence of the adult unit, I would suggest, is assured to the extent that it develops endowments and separate facilities.

These four areas are bases of power within the university system that weigh heavily in overall decision-making. This is a study of these four features of institutional life.

One

METHODOLOGY AND HYPOTHESES

Ten institutions out of 100 universities in the Association of University Evening Colleges were selected as a sample. The institutions selected represent the range of evening operations. In a preliminary survey of universities it was found that the institutions were predominantly under private (43%) or religious (31%) control and located for the most part in cities over 750,000 (there were 23 institutions in cities having at least 1,000,000 inhabitants all located in 5 cities: Chicago, Detroit, Los Angeles, New York and Philadelphia). The factors considered in choosing institutions for this study were the following:

1. Size of the city: (at least 100,000; most AUEC institutions are in cities over 500,000). Four institutions in cities under 500,000; five in cities over 500,000 but under 1,000,000; one in a city over 1,000,000.
2. Type of control: government (state and municipal), religious and private—two government controlled, two denominational, six private.
3. Size of the evening college: most of them under 5,000 enrollment, two over 5,000. The following size categories are used; very small: under 2,300; small: 2,300-4,000; medium: 4,000-6,000; large: 6,000-9,000; very large: 9,000 and over. Enrollment data was based on the year 1956.

Some questions may be raised about the extent to which the universities represent the "whole field" of university adult education. If we mean, is the sample a miniature Association of University Evening Colleges (the organizations constituting our universe at the time the study was undertaken) and identical to it in all respects, then the answer is no. We certainly cannot get all the wild combination of beliefs, attitudes, non-credit programs and the like represented in that Association. What it does mean is that the sample agrees in certain specified proportions (size, type of control, city size) with the population being studied. These proportions were chosen because they were objective dimensions along which all the divisions could be classified.

Some of the data has been collected over a period of four years. The writer has had correspondence with all the administrators of university evening colleges around the country and received and digested catalogues from these schools. Many of the directors were personally interviewed.

The interviews with the people from each institution are the most important data and form the material of which most use will be made in this study.

Summary of Hypotheses

This study is a continuation of the work done under the aegis of Everett Hughes relating to the emergence and growth of the educational enterprise. The methodological implications of the studies of institutions have not been codified adequately as yet. That job awaits the future theorist. The hypotheses here relate to the ways in which this particular unit in the university system grows.

1. History of the adult education enterprise. The growth of part of the university parallels the growth of the parent institution. The hypothesized life cycle indicates an establishment of evening work under a part-time director that proceeds to a separate administrative organization with a full-time director and dean. This requires the growth of a stable student body, the increased professionalization of the evening college staff, complex curriculum growth and the accumulation of a certain amount of capital equipment.

2. The composition of the student population. If stabilization is to occur the initial group of day "cleanups" has a tendency to be replaced by a larger group of "settleds." These students are those who can be predicted to return each term and whose supply is not immediately exhaustible.

(a) With the emergence of a stable public there is a tendency for an adult student culture to develop.

(b) The character of the student body has a tendency to be changed by the division's responsiveness to changes in demand by the community.

3. *The evening administrator*. With the increasing stabilization of the adult division the "itinerant" administrator emerges.

(a) To the extent that the adult division is not stabilized nor the field of university adult education legitimized the "homeguard" adult administrator will be the norm.

(b) There is a movement toward professionalizing the field of university adult education administration as a result of the evolution of the evening college.

(c) With the development of the evening division there is a trend toward more decision-making responsibility on the part of the dean or director in general administrative assignments, control over student body, faculty and program.

4. *The evening faculty*. The growth of the evening division brings with it characteristically a more regular salary schedule and tenure for faculty. The tendency is toward stabilization with a joint appointment system.

5. *The curriculum*. More and more "packaging" of offerings has a tendency to occur with the development of the evening school. The movement of the curriculum is in the direction of escaping the episodic character of adult education.

6. *Physical plant and capital equipment*. Spatial separation from the main campus is directly connected with the amount of autonomy an evening division has. Spatial separation encourages autonomy.

Finally, off-campus holdings can be directly related to the position of the evening division within the university system. A large investment means a strong, autonomous division.

Two

HISTORY OF THE ADULT EDUCATION ENTERPRISE

Dyer traces the growth of evening college education back to the 19th century. He makes several points about the development.

1. The period of origins dates from the last quarter of the 19th century to 1939. This period saw the development of the municipal university and university extension service. After World War I presidents of universities in urban areas decided to offer extension services in residence. This created a separation between extension education and residential education (the evening college).
2. Evening colleges developed over a period of time roughly corresponding to the development of the extension movement:

> Only seven of the fifty-five largest evening colleges were established before 1900. Forty-one were established between 1900 and 1929. The balance came after 1929. It is not surprising, too, that the privately endowed and the denominational college or university should largely be the home of the evening college, for they are urban institutions by and large while the state universities are not.[1]

In a special way evening colleges are tied up with the development of higher education in the cities. Many universities were established as denominational foundations, especially the older institutions. Quite as common an origin and sometimes sharing its inception with the denominational incentive has been the development from an academy to a college. The impetus has been the growing needs of the city, as at the University of Pittsburgh and Washington University in St. Louis for example. This, too, has been the pattern of growth of Catholic higher education in the United States. There is again the type of city university which was founded altogether, or mainly, by private gift. Clark University, Tulane, and Vanderbilt are examples.

---

[1] John P. Dyer, Ivory Towers in the Market Place, (Indianapolis: Bobbs Merill, 1956), p. 38.

Finally, there is the purely municipal type of institution supported wholly by the city. In this respect the United States has fallen behind England and Germany, for practically all the city universities of England and Germany are municipal, though a recent development is showing much growth. In America only three were founded as municipal institutions—the University of Louisville in 1837, the College of Charleston, 1837, and the College of the City of New York, 1847. The others that have become municipal after their founding are the University of Cincinnati, 1871; Hunter College (normal), New York, 1870; University of Toledo, 1884; The University of Akron, 1913. Three others have been established since then: Detroit, Wichita and Omaha.

Although urban evening colleges share many characteristics in common, the kind of university from which the adult unit springs shapes to a considerable extent its character. A further factor in an evening division's development is when the first evening work was offered and the circumstances of its establishment. All the evening divisions have changed from single-purpose to multiple-purpose. This can be seen through the analysis of their catalogues over the years. The context of a particular evening college's operation is another important consideration—how large is the city and how many other evening colleges compete? Another clue to the development of the evening division is its name—name changes generally go with reorganizations and indicate the relative position of the division within the university. A final consideration in the historical summary of the adult enterprise is the number of deans and directors the evening division has had—the turnover factor.

It may be useful to see the evening college as providing one of the functions of the university instead of being at the opposite end of a continuum from the liberal arts division. C. O. Houle[1] states that "the evening college exists at the precise point where the life of the community and the life of the university overlap." If we see the university as a circle with different functions taking up different parts of the circle, then at the center would be the traditional liberal arts division and at the outer edge would be the evening college.

Each evening school develops under a special set of circumstances and has a unique history. In some sense they cannot be simply categorized. This does not mean, however, that there is no pattern of development. I have looked for those individual characteristics that shape each evening division. In some cases the evening division may be viewed as the negative image of the liberal arts division. These evening schools may then evolve into something else and become stabilized. Or the evening college may start much farther along the life cycle because of a strong president aware of his community responsibilities. I am interested in those divisions which are exceptions to a hypothesized life cycle. They can point to a kind of stabilization that I do not anticipate.

---

[1] Cyril O. Houle, "The Evening College," Journal of Higher Education, Vol. XXV, Number 7 (October, 1954).

A brief summary of the historical development of our sample of ten evening colleges follows.

Summaries of Historical Development

University A

The evening division of University A can be traced through several different stages of growth. In 1912 day courses were offered at night under control of the day departments with no one person responsible for coordination. This hectic situation lasted for ten years when some new type of organization was required to handle the increasing enrollments. The evening division was first formally organized in 1923 with a director in charge. This set-up continued until the mid-thirties when a separate college was established with the evening director named "Dean." The college had separate buildings in the downtown area and remained there until 1949 when they moved to the regular campus.

The evolution of the faculty, staff and curriculum closely paralleled the growth of the student body. The evening college expanded its original public from budding businessmen and teachers to nurses, social workers, engineers and those interested in self-development. In its growth it gradually broadened its bases of support in the community and overlaid its original purposes with additional functions.

University B

This division had possibilities for developing according to the hypothesized life cycle, but other factors intervened to create the present situation. The original evening director was what might be called an "academic operator." He cultivated his contacts within the University and accepted extra duties that had little relation to the evening division.

He developed few of his outside contacts.

The student body grew gradually up to 1942 when it suffered a sharp decline because of the war. This decline, followed by the appointment of a new president interested in developing business and professional programs, was the major force leading to the present situation. The evening division, in serving its liberal arts public, had not yet achieved a character and individuality that would prevent it being radically altered with the removal of its director or the appointment of a new president.

The fact that the division did not stabilize before 1942 can only partly be related to the leadership within the evening division. It was part of a private university which faced stiff competition from two state-supported schools, both with downtown locations. It was only several years ago that it reached an agreement with the state university that the tuition rates would be the same.

University C

One part of the evening college, the commerce division, began in 1906. Later on this was established as a day division of the University. This evening college is one of the largest in the United States. The development of this enterprise in many ways approaches the model postulated earlier, with some exceptions.

The first director had extensive contacts with the business community and developed a range of programs around their needs. The second director was also in business administration. Under his direction the program and staff grew much larger. He effected the establishment of a separate evening college which consolidated both programs at night. This led to the setting up of a special evening degree. At the death of the second director, a man trained in higher education administration was appointed. This, according to the hypothesized life cycle, should have been the final evolution of the evening college. But, he remained only several years and was succeeded by the present dean, a commercial engineer who had been assistant dean and who had industrial selling experience before coming to the evening division. He stated in his interview that his primary interest was the "general promotion of the whole program, operating the whole evening college itself." He moved into the post as acting dean in 1943, just at the time defense industries in the area were demanding university training for their management groups. Enrollment skyrocketed to 9500 (present enrollment is 7600), and he distinguished himself in handling this crisis. His reward was a permanent appointment.

The evening college has as much autonomy and independence as any other college in the University. Its development has been possible because the University (municipally supported) early recognized its responsibility to the adults of the community and no other competitors were on the scene. It has developed broad community support for its programs. The evening college is able to pay faculty one of the highest rates in the country because of its municipal status. It is likely that it will develop a more professionalized leadership and more secure faculty arrangement (more full-timers and some kind of joint appointment set-up). The evening program will reach its next stage of development when the teacher's college eventually comes under its administrative organization.

University D

The growth of this evening college has been phenomenal. It moved from control by daytime departments to a separate autonomous unit. The president who set it up was interested in bringing the resources of the University to the community. From the beginning the dean of the college has had a strong ally in the president. Its establishment immediately after the war illustrates a point about institutional development. The breakthrough of the new, the successful establishment of a fresh orientation or enterprise is most likely to occur at a time of social crisis and is commonly associated with the strains of war. In the present case these events (a sympathetic president following the upheaval of the war) enabled the college to start farther along the life cycle than would otherwise be the case. They skipped the earlier phases of development.

The University is a poor school financially. The stabilization of the college, at present, is linked to financial well-being of faculty members. When enrollments increase in the daytime the college may be threatened.

The present dean has anticipated this and tried to build a broad basis of support in the community through his program development. In a projected blueprint for development of the evening college which the dean is submitting to the president, he asks for a new name ("University College"), a separate degree given only in the evening, and a specific policy from the president on day faculty responsibility for teaching in the evening. He wants a joint appointment system formalized so he will not be short of faculty when the day school expands. Presently, the dean of the college is one of the most powerful figures in the University. He is trying to assure this reputation for his successor by wresting some agreements from the president before he leaves.

University E

It is difficult to trace a clear-cut pattern of growth at this Jesuit college, because the institution had not stabilized itself as a university when the first evening classes were set up. There were a number of split appointments made in earlier catalogues (e.g., part-time Director of Graduate Studies and Extension), which is characteristic of a small college with so many jobs to be done and limited resources to do them. This may be even more pronounced in a Jesuit university where members of the religious community can be switched around as the need arises without all sorts of status problems interfering.

There was, however, at first the part-time director with primary responsibility resting in the daytime divisions. This has developed to the stage of a separate division with a full-time director who is responsible to the vice president. But there has been a narrowing of objectives as far as students to be served goes, rather than development of new publics as we would expect from the hypothesized life cycle. One month after his appointment the evening director was rebuked by the president for trying to change admissions policy. He wanted to set up his own admissions policy for the evening division and try to exclude all the day students. This encroached on the authority of the day deans and they complained to the president. The decision of the academic council was that any change in the admissions policy of the evening division is an all-university matter and cannot be handled by the evening director alone.

Six months after his appointment the director submitted a memo to the academic council and the president asking that the office of the evening director be more carefully defined: his duty, responsibility and function. The evening director wanted to take on full responsibility for admitting students, programming and hiring and firing of teachers. He suggested that the evening director have veto power in the hiring and firing of teachers and decisions about their continuance in the evening division.

The decision was made at this meeting not to organize the evening division as a separate college with its own dean "since the [accrediting] Association has more stringent standards for schools organized in more than three academic units." At one point in this meeting the liberal arts dean remarked that according to a statute of the University the evening director has the same authority as a dean. The system they worked out at that meeting delegates some of the authority of the day deans to the evening director. That is where the situation stands today. The evening director has broad powers to deal with the department chairmen and, when necessary, hire part-time staff.

There are two general factors operating at this university that restrict the development of the evening division. The authorities see their function as transmitting a long tradition of learning to individuals who can either come on a full-time basis in the day, or part-time in the evening. The degree program is the major objective of both day and evening work. This view sharply limits the audience that would come into its evening program. Secondly, the vice president is reluctant to take on additional faculty to meet any swelling demand until it is demonstrated that the demand is of long-range nature. This means the evening program is kept deliberately small. There is an unvoiced agreement that the ratio of evening students to day students will not be more than one to one.

University F

The development of the adult education enterprise at this University in some ways follows the theorized pattern. Early unorganized beginnings soon became coordinated into three divisions which administratively were responsible to the day colleges. Each of the three evening directors was a part-timer. There was no evolution to the stage of full-time director. This part-time arrangement was superseded by the consolidation of all evening work late in the 1940's under a separate college with the appointment of a full-time dean.

There has been a predictable increase in the number of programs being offered and systematic development of community support. The university even uses the evening college in its fund-raising attempts. Within the University itself the faculty situation is being stabilized. The dean of the college can insist on the appointment of a number of joint arrangements from the daytime and can count on support from the president in backing him up. This fall he has been given authority to pay faculty on an overload basis which will strengthen enormously his financial position in the University. A new public which the college is trying to develop is those people interested in liberal education, but not for credit.

The next step in its development will probably be the setting up of a separate degree at the college and some more permanent faculty arrangement. The college functions as a university college drawing on all the resources of the University to accomplish its task. Its advisory committee cuts across all the day colleges.

The leadership at this college is to some extent professionalized. Its first dean was from the field of higher education administration. The present dean's training has been in secondary school administration. His next assistant dean will come from the field of university adult education.

University G

The pattern of growth in this university's case closely follows the hypothesized cycle. Separate part-time directors in the beginning were succeeded by a full-time director who will probably be named "Dean" soon. The pattern has been one of progressive integration of the work offered at night. The arrangements have not yet been stabilized (all divisions are on a semester basis, engineering is still on a quarter basis), but the next development can be anticipated. The evening division will more than likely assume authority over all programs offered at night. Presently they control liberal arts and the non-credit courses; but only coordinate business and engineering programs.

There are several factors in the situation here that indicate this development:

1. There is a strong president interested in supporting adult education to the utmost.
2. The evening division has the cooperation of the faculty—a faculty committee is recommending that the evening division be called "University College" and be empowered to grant its own adult liberal arts degree.
3. The evening division has professionalized leadership. Both the director and associate director have their degrees (PhD's) in higher education administration. Both have had evening college administrative experience before coming to this division.

University H

This case, in some ways, shows the most baffling development of all the schools studied. The pattern of development up to the middle 1950's was predictable: the movement from part-time directors to full-time directors with the eventual consolidation of the two separate evening divisions. The leadership had been professionalized and had developed some autonomy. The evening divisions were separated from the main campus and were well-equipped with spacious buildings, library, bookstore and lounge. The evening enrollment had topped the daytime figures since 1926 (however, they were all part-timers) and the programs offered were as extensive as any evening college in the country, including a special evening degree. By all odds, the reorganization which took place in the mid-1950's should have set the evening divisions up as a separate university. Instead a plan was inaugurated that set the University's evening division back one stage in the hypothesized cycle of development. This situation may still change. But the very fact that such a venerable institution is still in a state of flux with no stabilization achieved despite all the conditions favorable to it needs explaining.

University I

This adult education unit is still in its infancy and has not yet taken on a shape and character that can be traced. It started out with a part-time director and was set up soon after as a separate division. The University's history is able to give more insight into what will happen to the evening division than the adult unit itself. It was set up as a land grant college and early conceived of its community as the agricultural people of the State. It became a university in 1879, but a general extension program was never developed because it would "poach" on the territory of other colleges in the State. Agricultural extension was part of the University picture from the beginning. At the end of the 19th century the recommendation of the faculty to the board of trustees was approved dividing up the University into six colleges each with a separate faculty. This rigid arrangement has never been changed. The constituency of the school (the agricultural community of the State), who tended to be quite conservative, plus the location in the State capitol, combined with a cumbersome board of trustees where many political battles were played out, all made for a very conservative institution. Add to this the fact that the University does not conceive of itself as a community college but as a State university with a national and international reputation, so that no thought would be given to local needs. Its "reference groups" do not include the local community.

One year after the director was appointed he drew up a blueprint for the reorganization of the adult school. This would have meant he could have developed a staff and program on his own. The plan was far-sighted and dramatic. It would have coordinated all the University's off-campus and evening work. The proposal was presented to the administrative council (deans, vice presidents and president). The administrative council balked at setting up a new college with its own dean and voted down the proposal. At present the director of the adult school performs bookkeeping operations. He does not have control over his own budget. He has the help of two secretaries and no professional staff.

A new president has just been appointed at the University, and some reorganization is taking place. The prospects for the development of the school are bleak indeed when we consider the history of the University. More than likely a reorganization will occur that will put it under a new extension division. The board of trustees has recently decided to set up two off-campus centers immediately and later two more. These are to take the pressure off the day school central campus. This off-campus work will have to be coordinated under some special administrative unit. The prospects are for the establishment of an extension division or something like it.

University J

This adult education division follows closely the hypothesized life cycle of the adult unit with some interesting variations. Evening work was set up with a director in charge during its early stages. The first director was also the director of the summer program but came originally from the faculty. The growth of the adult division was not impeded by any opposition within the University. The charter of the University states explicitly that University J should serve all the members of the State. It has always felt a responsibility to do something in its own community. This led to the development of extension centers around the upper part of the State administered by the evening and extension division. The old type of extension center has largely disappeared since the establishment of the State University—or become an independent college. The present centers are mostly concerned with graduate work on an in-service basis. Three of the centers are based on engineering, and one is concerned with public administration in the State capitol.

The crises that led to the formation of the evening and extension division were primarily the needs of teachers and the financial problems of the University. These needs, combined with the opportunity to do something unusual during World War I, a charter that was congenial to adult education, a chancellor who wanted it and an interested liberal arts faculty, led to the formation of the adult division. The evolution of the division was checked during the depression, yet even then the director encouraged the development of new programs for diverse publics. The idea of a wider service to the community was continually nurtured. The end of World War II with the influx of veterans provided the incentive for the latest reorganization, the establishment of a University College. A consultant from the University of Chicago was called in to recommend a set of administrative arrangements which are still in effect.[1]

The only other institutions offering college level programs in the area for adults are a small Catholic college and a private university School of Labor and Industrial Relations. Both of these programs are quite small. The fact that University College has been able to operate without any serious competition in a city of some 220,000 partially accounts for its complex growth.

The position of the adult division in the University is attested to by the fact that the dean was promoted to vice president of the University when the present dean was appointed in 1952. Further, the present dean sits on the Board of Academic Deans, the Graduate Board and the Executive Committee of the University.

The development of University College has brought with it a staff of some twenty program directors and other administrative personnel, a stable set of faculty arrangements and a stable organization generally.[2] Turnover in leadership has been minimal; four directors or deans have administered the adult enterprise in the past forty years. The faculty is quite diversified, consisting of five full-time professors, a number of joint appointments with campus departments and an overload arrangement which ties University College directly in with the total University program. Less than 5% of the faculty in University College are recruited from the community, an indication of the acceptance of the division's emphasis by the campus generally.

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[1] The University of Chicago with its own University College and successful experience with extension has operated as a model for a number of university adult educators.

[2] An exception to the growth of the program is the status of education extension. The last accrediting association report on University College asked whether there was any need or advantage in having the School of Education run its own adult program.

The physical plant of University College has kept pace with its growth in programs, services and personnel. The division has several buildings of its own near the center of town. This gives University College a sort of "adult campus" which is unique in the country. It includes a student lounge, auditorium, new library and rooms and equipment for home economics and arts and crafts. The more than adequate facilities of University College underline the University's conception of its role in the community and its commitment to make its impact felt there.

Three

EVOLUTION OF THE STUDENT BODY

The development of the adult education division's status and power within the university is partially dependent on the number and kinds of students the evening division attracts. The adult public for each evening school, as far as possible, was pinpointed. To the extent that records were available the writer looked at changes in age, sex ratio, home location, father's occupation, religious preference of the student, national origin of the father and education level of the parents. The clientele of the evening school generally displays the highest turnover rate of any group of students connected with the university. Some of the areas explored relating to the character of the student body were:

(1) Immediately after the adult division is formed there are a number of "cleanups" from the day division to be handled. How long does it take for these students to move out of the picture? During the adult unit's development the "settleds" come in and form the staple of the adult student body. The hypothesis here is that the adult education unit reaches the first stage of its development when its student body becomes stabilized—i.e., there are a number of predictable students whose supply is not immediately exhaustable.

(2) How does the responsiveness to changes in demands by the community affect the character of the student body? Occasionally the evening division gets a temporary boom in enrollment due to forces operating out in the community (e.g., the State may pass a law requiring all teachers to have a course in American history). These fluctuations in the student body can obscure the cycle.

(3) There is a tendency to move toward a student body committed for a certain period of time. Just how long is this period of time; when does it begin and when does it end? Are there any alumni of the adult school and what role do they play in its development? You have to complete something to have an alumni—what is completed? After the period of time that

the adult remains in the evening division becomes clarified, I would hypothesize that there will be attempts to get students to state their goals and assess them during their stay. The evening division would only need part of its student body committed over a period of time to act as a stabilizing influence. What proportion of the student body is committed and is it age graded? Is the length of time spent in evening school similar to or equivalent to the time the day student spends? I would suggest that to have any kind of committed student body means that there is an adult student culture. One clue to its development is the kinds of contact (if any) evening students have with day students and the number of student councils or clubs.

Several studies had been made that related directly or indirectly to the social class composition of the students. One of these found economic occupational reasons for attendance rate highest from the standpoint of their degree of importance to the student body; 34 per cent of the students could be classified as "professional" (i.e., college graduates), management personnel, or administrators of one type or another. Another 21 per cent were classified as "general clerical, secretarial or stenographic." This combined with the data on the incomes of the students (75 per cent with incomes less than $5,000; 35 per cent with less than $3,000) points to the upwardly mobile lower middle class majority in this particular evening college.

A social class study made at one of the Jesuit universities found the class composition of the students to be different from the other colleges in the area. It drew more of its students from the lower middle and upper lower classes than the other area schools. The survey included all the student body, not just the evening students, and the hypothesis erected to explain this phenomena is suggestive.

> This is not the usual pattern, for colleges and universities of all kinds draw largely from the upper and middle classes. Although the sample is too small to justify anything but a conjecture, it does not outrage logic to think that [University E] is attracting from the parochial school system children of foreign-born parents who have been little interested in higher education in the past.

The evening director at this school also felt a new group was emerging since World War II. This consists of students who start in evening college right after high school without even bothering to go to day school. The director saw this as a new college group, previously untapped—generally lower middle class.

The records compiled at University J's evening division indicated a breakdown on evening students by occupation done in 1953. Roughly 47 per cent of the students could be classified as professional, semiprofessional and managerial and office. The clerical category constituted roughly 19 per cent of the student body. This closely parallels the findings of the first study cited.

None of the analyses done on the student population at the various evening colleges gives us a picture of how the social class of the students has changed over the years. The records kept at these institutions are too meager to attempt any kind of systematic interpretation.

Another index of the mobility of the student was his own occupation and his father's occupation. None of the institutions had any information on the occupation of the father. All of the evening deans or directors felt that they had a wide representation of all social classes in their programs.

"We run all the way from unskilled factory worker to banker." This could be interpreted as a public relations posture vis-à-vis the rest of the university. Most of the deans and directors, upon further questioning, were willing to admit that they drew primarily middle class audiences.

There was some indication that several deans recognized a new audience emerging promising a much wider source of supply than at present. The majority of students, according to the deans, view participation in a university adult education program primarily as a means of improving their social standing or advancing their working status and earning capacity. Now there are hints that potential audiences may be developing whose education motives have more to do with entrenchment than with advancement.

The religious affiliation of the student was asked for by both Catholic institutions and by the student council at University A. The information was optional at the latter. Data on the religious affiliation was kept at one time or another by all the schools involved in this study. Requests were made by community groups, however, to eliminate this classification. Public schools and those institutions most sensitive to community needs were the first to drop this sort of information.

University A kept records on the number of students who had tuition assistance from industry. The industrial tuition assistance is becoming increasingly more important for the evening school, though this is the only school in the sample that kept information on this assistance. In all respects University A shows unusual development: a professionalized leadership, a conception of community service, a long history of evening education and an exceptional interest in gathering and refining statistical data on its students (the dean is a statistician).

Fluctuation of Enrollment

The director at University B noted that whan a bill was passed in the state legislature giving teachers more pay for advanced course work the evening division experienced a sudden boom in enrollments. It was not a significant increase, however, and the evening director saw it coming. The big enrollment increase that his division experienced was when the School of Music was placed administratively under the evening division. Affiliations of already existing schools or institutes with big enrollments of their own can obscure the growth cycle if one is just looking at enrollment figures. University A has only experienced large fluctuations when units of the evening school have been cut off or added.

The dean at University C states that a dean who knows his community will always be ready for what comes.

> I get the local figures on carloading and bank clearing and watch new industries coming into town. This information is easily picked up—I belong to a training director's group here. When a new industry is coming in I confer with their representatives and try to interest them in a program. In the past real estate boards have suddenly become quite interested in education for their men and this shoves the enrollment up. Or a new field representative for credits may push his men into the University. But in all these cases the total number wouldn't be more than 200. This doesn't make much difference in a total enrollment of 8,000.

Unexpected increases in students are not likely to occur with well established evening divisions. By and large these deans and directors had their fingers on the pulse of the community and could anticipate shifts in enrollments. The only time these fluctuations are likely to obscure the growth of the evening division is in its early stages. When enrollments are small and the evening dean is new, a sudden rush of several hundred extra students is likely to give a distorted picture of what is happening.

Enrollments in themselves are not the key factor in an evening college's development. Large figures look good in reports to the president, but most of the deans felt that they were not useful in impressing admin-

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istrative councils. All the well developed institutions had figures on how many hours their students were carrying. The critical ratio of evening to day students in terms of the division's development is not the total number of students, but the comparative number of course registrations.

Kinds of Students Reached

The publics the deans recognized, and the ones they got, were generally middle class high school graduates, living or working within easy reach of the university. A sizeable group was the industrial and professional groups with which universities work. (See Table 1 for kinds of students being reached by each of the institutions.) The degree seekers primarily in business and education accounted for the stable student body in the institutions.

The Remedial Group

The "remedial" group appears first on the scene in the historical evolution of the evening college. They are the students who had to drop day school for one reason or another and yet did not want to give up their plans for a degree. Usually they plan to go back to the day school if they can manage it. In the early announcements of most of the schools involved in this study the first objective listed refers to those who desire to complete their degree requirements in part-time study. Courses are set up for those students:

> . . . whose general training has been interrupted.
>
> . . . who desire to complete degree requirements in part-time study.
>
> . . . whose formal education has been interrupted and who want to pursue a program leading to a college degree.
>
> . . . men and women . . . who wish to complete or extend their academic or professional education.
>
> . . . who want . . . the same opportunities for degree work as are available to the students of the day program.
>
> . . . seeking degrees to make progress toward that objective.
>
> . . . unable to attend other divisions of the University on a full-time schedule [; they will be able to complete] in the Extension School a major portion of all their work . . .

The exceptions to the generalization that remedial students appear first on the scene are C, F, and H. The hypothesis originally stating that the first group the infant evening college reaches is the remedial student can be modified as follows: when there is a full-time, well organized uni-

Table 1

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF THE STUDENT POPULATION

School	Kinds of students being reached	Per cent unclassified	Day "cleanups"	Average age	Analyses made of adult population of local area
A	Degree seekers in education, commerce, engineering, self-development	25%	2%	29	Yes
B	Degree seekers in education, business administration, liberal arts	30%	50%	33	No
C	Degree seekers in commerce, arts, engineering, refresher group	None	3%	30	Yes
D	Degree seekers in education, business administration, refresher groups	1%	25%	28	No
E	Degree seekers in liberal arts	30%	15%	25	No
F	Degree seekers in arts, business administration, engineering and education	67%	5%	30	No
G	Degree seekers in arts, business administration, nursing, non-credit	50%	2%	29	Yes
H	Business administration, and education students - degree seekers	50%	1%	30	No
I	Degree seekers in education and commerce	50%	100%	30	No
J	Degree seekers in arts, business administration, engineering, fine arts and social work	65%	8%	29	Yes

versity operating in the daytime with a strong conviction about the importance of transmitting university resources to day undergraduates and graduates, their evening program is originally set up to reach those day students whose day programs have been interrupted. However, when the day school has a public conscience formulated by charter or by presidential policy, the evening program will initially be set up for adults without reference to the day school.

This was the case at Universities C and H, where the beginnings of the evening school developed around the needs of mature business men whose undergraduate work was completed. The development of these two schools points to the innovating role the evening school can play in the university. In both instances sensitive men, standing at the point where the life of the community and the life of the university overlap, were able to add new functions to the traditional university responsibilities.

All three divisions that remain as exceptions to the generalization that the first students the evening college reaches are remedial represent powerful forces within their own universities with a long history of professionalized leadership. This is only to emphasize again that, unless the evening college develops a "personality" all its own, it merely functions as a pawn of circumstances.

The "Cleanups"

Almost from the first the evening dean or director is faced with a group of students who do not plan to finish up their education in the evening school. These students could be characterized as "cleanups" from the daytime. The first step in stabilizing the student body is to pull these students more intensively into the evening program and persuade them to matriculate through the evening school. In most of the evening colleges there was some attempt either to get rid of the "cleanups" or change their classification to evening students. The cleanup students can bring the dean into conflict with his colleagues since their status is unclear. There is a problem of overlapping jurisdiction.

The "Unclassifieds"

A number of students come into the evening division to take courses without indicating what their educational plans are. All of the deans or directors indicated that they tried to keep this group small. The evening administrator works to have most of his students tied into a degree or certificate program. A stable student body is not achieved by having a majority of students who have not declared their intentions. Generally, the unclassified category referred to two types of student—the "transient," who periodically comes in to take courses without any discernible plan, and those who plan to matriculate, but have not yet stated their intentions.

The comings and goings of the "transient" group seemed quite mysterious to the deans. They were aware of their existence, but not sure why they were there. They knew that the transients were an undependable public, i.e., they did not come back term after term.

The generalizations on the transient group are very gross and consist of haphazard observations of the evening deans at these ten institutions. From the point of view of the evening administrator, all he has to know about this group is how to keep it relatively small and how to bring back these students more regularly.

Most of the institutions involved in this study have a high percentage of "unclassifieds." Only part of the "unclassifieds" are transients. Most of the unclassified students plan to matriculate, but have not stated their intentions yet. An unusually high percentage of unclassified students is not necessarily cause for alarm. Evening students at registration have to go through a process which indicates whether the student is interested in working for a degree or not. The counseling net functions to keep the group of unclassified students small by attempting to get them to state their goals in degree or certificate terms.

Counseling of Evening Students

The evening dean or director can mobilize his counseling program to aid in the evolution of the evening division. He does this by increasing the number of students who are degree seekers. As the dean of University C put it:

> There are a number of degree programs and certificates here. In counseling, suggestions are made about how all the courses tie together. Usually this is incentive enough to bring a student into a program. There is no coercion.

Most of the evening divisions had some counseling system that ranged from a simple meeting with an evening staff member at registration to a more formal meeting with someone designated as counselor or advisor. In some cases testing was included also. This was rare, however. Testing was generally viewed as a barrier to adult enrollment, and by and large the schools in the sample accepted everybody.

The pattern of development looks something like this: the evening division starts out using a simple advisement procedure at registration. Some schools have not yet developed beyond this but more information is needed on the student (for use in reports to the president, for public relations purposes, to pass on to daytime divisions) to steer him into the "right" programs. Student advisement then begins more systematically with evening staff members and day faculty serving as part-time advisors. The next step is the appointment of a full-time counselor. And the final stage is the inauguration of a testing program for use in placement and personal counseling.

The clearest illustrations of the role of the counseling operation in the development of the evening college are the arrangements at Universities E and J.

The most elaborate type of counseling and advising occurred at E. The student, upon entering, takes the ACE and the Army GCT test; also a test of English, Mechanics, Reading and Preference. At that point the evening director decides whether more testing is needed and sits down with the student to work out a collegiate program. This works as a screening device to eliminate the casual attender at evening classes. The director has set up a rite de passage for each student who enters into the evening division that requires him to make a number of decisions and commit himself for a certain period of time. He then has the conception of himself as an "adult working toward a degree." The evening director tries to sustain this conception by meeting with each of his students periodically for counseling sessions, and thus decreases attrition.

He is aware that other things are needed to develop self-conceptions by evening students that would be anywhere near comparable to the day student's image of himself. Newspapers, clubs, committees, etc., would be necessary to develop something like the image of "the mature student section of [the] University."

University J has an official counselor—the only one of the ten schools. He helps with course selection and study, and with personal problems. He also refers students to the Psychological Research Center if they require testing. This is the most well-developed evening division in this respect, and points to the final evolution of this function in the evening college. Even in evening colleges where there is a fairly clear line of authority and simple standardized procedures in counseling and testing, adequate records are kept and the function performed adequately only where trained persons are assigned to the task and supervised to some extent by the dean or director.

Development of an Evening Student Culture

At all schools visited the average age was declining. This meant that the decision to enter evening school is being made more and more by younger students upon finishing high school. The average age of students tends to be lower with those schools who do not cultivate the public interested in refresher offerings. Schools with almost a pure remedial audience tend to have a lower average age.

One difficulty in the development of any kind of group consciousness among evening students is the part-time nature of the student's commitment. His time and energy are taken up elsewhere. Under these conditions a highly developed sense of being an evening student will probably not emerge, and if it does, it is difficult to maintain. The first step in the development of this consciousness is made when there is some attempt by the evening division to get students to think of themselves as degree-seekers and to get them committed to a program.

The cycle of development of an evening student culture begins with the organization of evening sections of day professional fraternities. This is followed by the development of special professional fraternities for evening students. The third stage is the emergence of a student association or a student council which sponsors social events and possibly a newspaper. A further development is the appearance of an evening division alumni group. This is followed by the growth of a number of alumni groups organized around different programs. This differentiation is the most complex to be found in the evening college, and points to the final stabilization of the division.

The development of an evening student culture is not dependent on the amount of contact evening students have with day students. In all the schools visited there was little contact between the two groups. The most frequently mentioned contact was when the evening student met his daytime companion in an evening class.

Four

EVOLUTION OF THE EVENING STAFF

This section is concerned with administration and teaching, and the role they play in the adult school's changing status. The administrator generally comes from (1) the "practical world," (2) a subject matter specialty, (3) other administrative posts or, (4) professional training in adult education. I have hypothesized that only the last area produces a professional who will make adult education administration his career. The trend is increasingly in that direction. Two major indications of this trend are: the emergence of the Association of University Evening Colleges which split off from the Association of Urban Universities because evening administrators felt they could not discuss their problems there; and the recent development of the Commission of Professors of Adult Education whose job it is to train professional people for the job of adult education generally. When the evening dean or director begins to be selected from a subject matter specialty, or from a professional adult education training program rather than the practical world, it points to an increasing stabilization of this unit of the university. And with this stabilization the "itinerant" administrator emerges, the interchangeable professional whose skills and training permit him to move in and out of adult administrative units. The "itinerant" can be contrasted with the "homeguard" adult administrator whose identification with adult education is temporary since he moves around to several administrative posts within the university. Part of the mobility pattern of either administrator is to lift their administrative division into a more prestigeful category. I would suppose that actions that tend to downgrade the adult division would be resisted by adult deans (e.g., teaching French to elementary school children which one municipal university does), and certain changes are pushed (e.g., setting up endowments for the adult college). The "homeguard" administrator generally sees his job as one step in a career that is not confined to adult education.

Generally, faculty are recruited from day divisions and outside the university—the business and industrial world. My observation is that even in the most autonomous adult divisions the ratio of community people to day or campus faculty is not more than one to one—usually much less. Some administrators prefer non-campus people because their remuneration is lower and they are "easier to handle." There is generally a high turnover in faculty appointments. I have hypothesized that the trend is toward a regular salary schedule and tenure. In some cases the evolution of the adult division brings with it a full-time faculty. This is not the pattern, however. I would suppose that stabilization usually occurs with a joint appointment system. Faculty members do not see their career in adult teaching even though they may be quite interested in it.

The Evening Dean

An analysis of the directory of the association of University Evening Colleges[1] lists 134 evening college administrators (not just deans and directors). This associational directory shows the administrators coming from four different sources: (1) the practical world (administrative posts in business, industry or non-university education), 21 per cent; (2) a subject matter specialty, 41 per cent; (3) other administrative posts in the university, 36 per cent; and (4) professional training in adult education, 2 per cent. Two out of ten of the administrators in this study came from the practical world, four from subject matter specialties, three from other administrative posts in the university and one from professional training in adult education. In contrast, the daytime deans in each of the institutions had all come from subject matter specialties.

In 1956 the AUEC Committee on Study and Research was given the task of compiling certain information on deans and directors of the AUEC.[2] A questionnaire was sent to all of the institutions who were members of the Association. The results were: generally, evening deans come from administrative positions within the university (42%).[3] Sixteen per cent come from other administrative posts outside the university—the practical world. Only a few (less than 1 per cent) come from professional training in adult education. When the division is just beginning, instructors teaching in the evening usually become directors. Forty-two per cent of those holding the post of evening dean were formerly college teachers. These men usually began by teaching commerce or business administration courses.

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[1] Bernard Reed, Who's Who in the Association of University Evening Colleges (Cincinnati: University of Cincinnati, 1954).

[2] "Evening College and Extension Administration as a Profession," Conference Report, Fifth Leadership Conference for University Adult Educators, (Chicago: Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1956), p. 60.

In reply to the question "what position did you hold before becoming dean or director?," the respondents listed the following categories:

28	College Professor
10	Other college administration position (Registrar, Alumni secretary, Bursar, etc.)
7	Dean, other than evening
6	Chairman of Department
5	Assistant Dean, other than evening
2	Government
2	High School Principal
2	None
1	Elementary School Administration
1	High School Teacher
1	Superintendent of Schools
1	Industry

An analysis of the academic training of the administrators listed in the Associational directory showed the following: 46 per cent had doctorates (of all types), 44 per cent had Master's degrees, 11 per cent had Bachelor's degrees and 1 per cent had no degree. These figures can be compared with the evening deans' and directors' daytime counterparts. All of the daytime deans had doctorates.

Most of the evening administrators involved in this study had academic appointments. Only one did not. Six of the administrators still teach part-time. Two have discontinued it, and two have never taught.

The oldest respondent was 70 and the youngest 30. Generally, deans tend to be over 50 years old, although the average age is 47. Only four are under 35. Figures on age ranges in other professional groups are not available. One of the points that students of the profession make, however, is that the age at which a career decision is made becomes lower when the group starts to professionalize.

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[3] This excludes those who listed their previous position as "assistant evening dean."

The average tenure of the office was about six years. The median was four years. The range was from several months to twenty-one years. (This refers to one dean who had administrative responsibility for evening classes since 1936, but was only appointed dean recently.) Interpretation of what this means is difficult. Some evening divisions have just recently been formed. Generally, those divisions which have a history going back to World War I have a comparatively low turnover rate of evening administrators.

Most of the deans and directors in this study were appointed within the last eleven years. Generally, the age distribution of the evening administrators is the same as for the field as a whole.

What Happens to Evening Deans?

One of the questions asked of the evening dean was about the position now held by his predecessor. About 19 per cent indicated that they had no predecessor, which points to the recent emergence of a number of evening colleges on the scene. About 60 per cent of those who did have a predecessor went on to other administrative posts in the university. Two became college presidents. Twenty-three per cent of the ex-deans were deceased or retired, and most of the remainder went into administrative posts outside education (about 10 per cent). "What position is now held by your predecessor as dean or director?"

15 No predecessor
13 Dean (other than evening)
13 Professor or Department Chairman
9 Retired
7 Out of education (industry, government, etc.)
6 University Vice-President
6 Other University Administration (Director of Development, Assistant to President, etc.)
6 Deceased
3 Unknown
2 College Presidents

My hypothesis was that with the development of a stable enterprise the "itinerant" administrator emerges. This is the man whose skills and training permit him to move in and out of adult administrative posts. This is occurring to a certain extent. Two of University A's assistants to the dean went on to other assistant deanships in evening colleges. The former director at B took an assistant deanship at a large evening division elsewhere. One assistant dean at C went to another university as assistant dean. The tendency is in this direction, but by no means is it the overall pattern. Two out of the 134 administrators listed in the Associational directory came through professional training programs in adult education up to the Ph.D. level. This presumably develops itinerancy. Thirteen (roughly about 10 per cent) had come from other university evening colleges. There seems to be more actual mobility among the second-level administrators than the deans or directors themselves. And finally, the survey referred to above indicates that about 19 per cent of the top administrators in evening colleges now were formerly assistant deans. This was also a form of training for their present post.

To recapitulate: about 60 per cent of those who had been evening deans went on to other administrative posts in the university in the past. Ten per cent went on to other posts outside education. If the same pattern continues, the remaining 30 per cent can be expected to remain in the field.

The Movement Toward Professionalization

If one adopts an empirical approach in noting the characteristics of a profession, namely (1) that they involve a relationship between professional and client, and (2) that the society accepts them as professions, we conclude that evening college administration is not a profession. Hughes[4] points out that the profession is one of the models work groups in our society may take. Other alternatives are business, the science, and the racket.

The very fact that the AUEC was formed is an indication of the growing professionalization of the field. Career perspectives which are the standards from which the university adult educator derives his concepts of success are formed through these associations. The career perspectives are developed by interaction between the neophytes and the old-timers. This interaction takes place on the job, through associational meetings and in programs of professional preparation, usually in graduate schools.

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[4] E. C. Hughes, "Psychology: Science and/or Profession," American Psychologist, August, 1952, p. 441.

Another major indication of the trend to professionalization is the emergence of an informal organization, the Professors of Adult Education, whose job it is to train professional people for the field of adult education generally. Fifty-three institutions offer some kind of professional study in adult education during the academic year. Twelve universities have developed curricula that lead to an M.A. or Ph.D. in adult education.

The Decision-Making Responsibility of the Dean

Some attempt was made to ascertain the position held by the evening dean or director in each of the ten institutions.

The areas of responsibility cover (1) registration, admission and guidance; (2) scheduling and program building; (3) provision of basic curricular opportunities; and (4) instruction. This only refers to the credit side of the evening operation. By and large there is considerable freedom and flexibility for evening divisions to develop their noncredit programs. A composite judgment was made after interviewing on whether the evening dean had the authority to initiate and approve and/or administer policy. In some cases the evening administrator had no authority to do either. Some attempt was made to distinguish the amount of authority the evening administrator had in each area. Each item was ranked in terms of whether the evening dean or director had:

1. Sole responsibility: this meant that the evening dean had freedom to set policy in regard to evening students; he could initiate or change policy without counsulting anyone else within the university.

2. Shared but decisive voice in policy: this meant that the evening dean had considerable freedom to initiate or change policy but must do it through some kind of consultation (committee system or meeting with higher administrative officers). In any policy the evening dean could initiate he administered.

3. Shared but lacking decisive voice in policy: this meant that he may or may not initiate policy changes—generally would not. He is consulted however, and his feelings taken into consideration.

Table 2

DECISION MAKING RESPONSIBILITY OF THE EVENING ADMINISTRATOR

	Registration, admission and guidance	Scheduling and program building	Basic curriculum building	Instruction
A	Shared responsibility with day deans but decisive voice	Sole responsibility	Shared responsibility but not decisive voice	Shared responsibility but decisive voice
B	Shared responsibility but decisive voice	Shared responsibility but not decisive voice	No responsibility	No responsibility
C	Sole responsibility	Sole responsibility	Shared responsibility but decisive voice	Sole responsibility
D	Shared responsibility but decisive voice	Sole responsibility	Shared responsibility but decisive voice	Sole responsibility
E	Shared responsibility but not decisive voice	Shared responsibility but decisive voice	Shared responsibility but not decisive voice	No responsibility
F	Sole responsibility	Shared responsibility but decisive voice	Shared responsibility but not decisive voice	Shared responsibility but not decisive voice
G	Shared responsibility but decisive voice	Shared responsibility but not decisive voice	Shared responsibility but not decisive voice	Shared responsibility but not decisive voice
H	Shared responsibility but decisive voice	Shared responsibility but decisive voice	Shared responsibility but not decisive voice	Shared responsibility but decisive voice
I	No responsibility	Shared responsibility but not decisive voice	No responsibility	No responsibility
J	Sole responsibility	Sole responsibility	Shared responsibility but decisive voice	Shared responsibility but decisive voice

He administers the policy that is arrived at.

4. No responsibility: this meant the evening administrator had no power to initiate policy or approve it, nor is he consulted in the setting of policy. He is required to carry out the policy.

Registration, Admission and Guidance.—What exactly is the dean's or director's responsibility in handling withdrawals and drop-outs, admissions of evening students or their advisement? We can expect rather more autonomy here than in the other three areas. The day deans are not jealous of their prerogatives in registration, admission and guidance as long as the rules are followed. They do not want the evening dean approving a student's admission to a department unless they explicitly delegate him to do this, but they would rather the evening division handle all the work connected with registration, admission and guidance.

Scheduling and Program Building.—This refers to the dean's power to schedule specific programs or courses as he sees fit. He may or may not also have responsibility for dealing with course requests from the community. The evening administrator is more likely to have authority here than in the other three areas. His position between the community and the university, yet with a stake in both, means he is more sensitive to the expressed needs of community groups. Even if he were just coordinating day courses given at night he would still handle requests for courses from the community.

Basic Curricular Opportunities.—The most difficult authority to achieve in the evolution of the evening division is the provision of basic curricular opportunities. This requires considerable autonomy and is best achieved when the division has degree-recommending power and a separate faculty. None of the schools had sole responsibility in this area; if they could provide basic curricular opportunities it was always in consultation with a day committee. Only three universities had a decisive voice in providing their own basic curricular opportunities.

Instruction.—Decision-making in the instruction area refers to selection of faculty, determination of salary and evaluation of the job done. Evaluation means control over policy on whether to sever or continue relations of evening instructors with the institution. This is dealt with in more detail below.

The Dean's Position in University Councils

The evening administrator is always directly responsible to some higher officer in the university. Sometimes this may give an indication of the stage of development of the evening division. When separate administrative arrangements are made, however, the evening dean or director reports directly to the president or one of the vice presidents. In the early phases of growth an evening director may report directly to one of the day deans.

A more precise index of the division's position is the dean's relation to the various policy-making committees in the university.

"Dirty Work" and the Administrator's Self-Image

In most occupations there is some function which, though necessary, is viewed as "dirty work." It does not represent the kind of work which is congruent with the practitioner's conception of his art. The salesmanship aspects of the pharmacist managing a drugstore, general practice among physicians, divorce law among lawyers, are all instances of "dirty work" within an occupation.

In most fields "dirty work" is performed by two classes of people. One is the class of people who cannot get "cleaner" work because they lack the requisite indexes of competence, the correct sponsorship, or the proper social backgrounds. The evening deans and directors by and large do not fit in this category. Another class of "dirty" workers consists of those who perform it as a condition of initiation into an occupation. The occupation in this case may be educational administration and the "dirty work" initiation could be evening deaning.

There are a number of things the evening administrator does which he thinks not "quite respectable." Generally, he handles the problem by trying to get the function transferred elsewhere or redefining it in more acceptable terminology so he can enjoy doing it, or at least tolerate it. Generally, the evening administrator's "dirty work" fell into four general areas:

Contact with students. Registering, admitting and counseling personally is something that the deans and directors felt did not come into their conception of their job. It isn't quite dignified and day deans rarely do this.

> The evening dean spends more time with students. In the daytime others would do this for the dean.
>
> The day deans wouldn't bother counseling students. The whole area of personal contact with students they would probably find distasteful.

Keeping the day divisions happy. Some of the administrators were not satisfied with their position vis-à-vis the day divisions. A thriving evening college is often dependent on the good will and cooperation of day departments and faculty.

> I don't like it, but you have to go with your hat in your hand to secure cooperation from the day departments. We couldn't operate otherwise.
>
> You don't get the primary loyalty of your faculty because they all have their hearts elsewhere. So the only reason they'll do anything for you is because they love you. These are problems inherent in evening college work—it crosses so many boundaries in the university. All evening college activities are peripheral to what the rest of the university is doing. Personal relations is the key. I have to cultivate the day deans and the faculty.
>
> I don't think everyone could fit into this job. You have to manuever—be a politician. If I couldn't do that I'd have to get out.

Salesmanship and promotion. Most of the evening deans and directors are quite sensitive to criticisms that they are just "salesmen."

> We have to do all our own publicity and promotion, prepare news releases and take care of our own public relations. Can you see a day dean doing that?
>
> Basically the inherent nature of the evening college is to make money. Some people don't like to hear that, but it's true. Evening deans should be aggressive—they have to be able to package a program and sell it.

Odd jobs not connected with the evening college. Often the evening division is so loosely organized and flexible that it is the only part of the university that can move quickly when the situation requires it. The negative side of this flexibility is that the evening dean is sometimes required to perform onerous tasks for the president.

> The summer session should be a separate operation. I administer the evening division and the summer school. Each is a full-time job. I'm always called on by the president to do things not connected with my job—to sit in on community committees and just generally do his leg work.
>
> Besides being the full-time director of the division, I'm also academic advisor to the athletic department. The president is worried about the high mortality among our athletes. I also run a pre-collegiate summer course for graduating high school seniors.

Persons entering marginal occupations have to handle their special status subjectively. They must see their position in some positive way. Those deans who had elaborated a rationale for themselves saw their task as one of offering the resources of the university to new groups, sometimes in new ways. They were on the frontier. The day deans who criticized evening work were seen as jealous of the evening division's influence and not interested in making changes. In an address to a group of evening college and extension deans in Chicago in 1956, Kenneth D. Benne gave a very succinct articulation to this view:

> The periphery of the university has its virtues too. Typically it is closer to the interests, concerns, and the maintenance and growth requirements of other parts of the society than the center is. Members of periphery cannot dispense with the category of social importance; they must use the categories of urgency and emergency in making their judgments about emphases in teaching and in research. In a sense they must bring the wider society to the university—they must mediate between this wider society and the center of the university.

By and large the deans see themselves in two roles: administrator and teacher. Most of them teach, and all but one hold academic appointments. Holding on to the academic appointment and in some cases teaching gives them a wider identification with the university. They are educators.

The Evening Faculty

The pattern of faculty arrangements varied widely. (See Table 3.) In some institutions the situation was quite mixed. All of the evening divisions were operating with several different systems. The development typically goes through four different stages: (1) exclusive use of daytime faculty on loan from day departments, (2) use of community people, (3) initiation of overload system for day faculty, and (4) emergence of the joint appointment system. A fifth possibility, or an alternative to the fourth stage, is the development of a full-time faculty.

Exclusive Use of Daytime Faculty

In the early stages of growth the evening division works out some arrangement for using daytime faculty. Generally, this means the evening dean persuades the day department heads to let him have some faculty. The evening faculty depends on the good graces of the day divisions. This is quite unsatisfactory from the point of view of the evening dean,

Table 3

EVOLUTION OF THE EVENING FACULTY

School	Proportion of faculty from community	Proportion of faculty from campus	Use of loaned faculty	Use of extra compensation system	Joint-app't system	Full-time faculty	Graduated payment and ranking system	Goal
A	33%	67%	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Joint-app't system
B	33%	67%	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Joint-app't system
C	60%	40%	No	Yes	No	No	Yes	Status Quo
D	25%	75%	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Joint-app't system
E	50%	50%	Yes	No	Yes	No	No	Status Quo
F	50%	50%	No	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Joint-app't system
G	25%	75%	No	Yes	No	No	No	Joint-app't system
H	17%	83%	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Full-time faculty
I	10%	90%	Yes	No	No	No	No	Full-time faculty
J	5%	95%	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Joint-app't system

and he early tries to get himself out of this situation, as in University I at present. The income the evening division makes goes right into the bursar's office so that the evening director does not have any money to pay for community people (he has to make special arrangements with the bursar to do this) or extra compensation for day faculty.

The disadvantages of this system are numerous. The evening work by faculty is always seen as something done which is extra to their regular duties. Hence, when a pinch develops in daytime enrollments (as is happening at present), the daytime faculty are pulled out of evening teaching. The system works well if day enrollments are down and day departments are overstaffed. Some evening divisions capitalized on a daytime depression to tie themselves more closely into the economic structure of the university. Right after World War II they then moved to the point where they started paying compensation to their daytime faculty. This loaned-faculty system works best during the lean years when daytime budgets need some easing.

Use of Community People

When the evening administrator gains control over his own budget he begins to bring in outside people as faculty. The critical ratio of community people to day faculty seems to be 60-40. If the community faculty ratio exceeds 60 per cent, there is consternation among day deans about supervising evening faculty. The community faculty could then function to divide further the evening college from the university. The latitude an evening director has in getting community people varies from area to area. Business administration and engineering faculty can run as high as 90 per cent from the community, 10 per cent from the campus.

The field of education requires more of a balance. In those schools where education was under the evening division the ratio was something like 75 per cent campus people to 25 per cent outsiders. The education faculties are large, well organized and much concerned about keeping certification procedures within the daytime faculty. The evening administrator has the least amount of freedom in the liberal arts area to select community faculty. There the ratio of outsiders to campus faculty is 10 per cent to 90 per cent.

Community people come from a number of different sources. Most deans recruited them from "business and industry." In some cases they were alumni of the university. All were graduates; some were secondary school teachers. Men drawn in from business and industrial concerns were usually specialists in some particular area. They had knowledge and skills that no one in the day faculty possessed.

Overload System for Daytime Faculty

After a list of dependable community faculty has been developed the next move is to press for extra compensation for day faculty. This is found to be necessary to protect (or establish) the freedom and discretion of the evening director in hiring faculty. At this stage there is also some graduated payment system worked out. Several institutions use the daytime ranks. All the others are moving in that direction. There are institutional requirements that demand some method of faculty differentiation.

Emergence of the Joint Appointment System

The evening division can work toward setting up joint appointment systems once it has acquired the stability and prestige that permits it to negotiate with day departments. This means that a faculty member splits his time between day and evening. Part of his salary comes from a daytime budget and part from the evening.

One dean maintained:

> My community faculty are not given titles because this would require the approval of the academic council. This would slow things down enormously. The stipend we pay is based on education and experience and ranges along the same scale that the [University F] faculty does.

One way of handling the problem of the casual part-time faculty is to build a joint appointment system. This sacrifices a good deal of flexibility for the security of a more stable faculty. In all ten evening divisions the faculty turnover is high. This makes any kind of faculty development program difficult. None of the institutions had any kind of faculty training or development program in operation. Only the simplest kind of faculty evaluation was used. The dean at University D phrased it this way:

> The ideal arrangement is a joint appointment system similar to what we've got here. It's becoming more widely used and it's been quite successful at [D]. All the deans (in the university) should be in full accord that adults need to be served. This should be spelled out administratively—so many people, so much time, so much budget. This commits the university. Any university in an urban area needs to do

this. The other deans then become sensitive to how this adult population is served and look to the evening dean who can identify the needs. The deans must make available staffs who will do this—they must be sympathetic with the adult education function of the university. A university in an urban area can't omit this responsibility, especially if there's an increased enrollment in the daytime. If you can't do everything in the day and evening, then you try to do both as well as possible—you don't pull faculty out of the evening.

Five

EVOLUTION OF THE CURRICULUM

When divisions are empowered to grant degrees (B.A., M.A., others) their status is enhanced. The division's power within the university is also increased to the extent that there is a wide range of income-producing programs in operation. The number of departments offering courses through the adult education division and the number of courses offered are a clue to the division's importance.

Generally, the attitude among administrators is "the more traditional stuff the better." And there is a good deal of interest in interchange of examinations, courses and credit. I have hypothesized that the tendency is toward more and more "packaging" of offerings. Usually attempts are made to sell programs instead of courses. Associate degrees and certificates are coming more into the picture. This helps to stabilize the student body by bringing the "one shot" person (who takes one course this quarter and another next year some time) into a more extensive program. At one university this aim is stated as follows:

> The activities should be organized into continuing and meaningful programs of learning . . . a program of study which guides the student toward fuller understanding over a significant period is more important to [us] than piecemeal and indistinctly related activities.

One dean was of the conviction that an adult program lasting at least one year was the necessary minimum before any real learning could take place. Professor Houle in commenting on the episodic character of adult education points to some of the elements necessary for a stable program. He holds that stability can be achieved only under certain circumstances: (1) The agency, through its program, should modulate from one need to another. I would suggest that each adult enterprise try to find its survival pattern by striking a balance between what might be called "vocational," "remedial" and "self-development" needs which it fulfills. (2) The agency should deal with some basic human need which doesn't change. The evening school has not yet carved out a specific area for itself here. It could organize itself to certify some professionals, but this is usually handled by other university units. (3) The agency should develop a basic method which it can establish, like the library. Some adult educators see leadership training of voluntary association personnel as their unique contribution to the functioning of American society. This leadership training may be the basic method which is a stabilizing factor in the adult division's development. (4) The agency should develop so discerning a group of constituents that they can be counted on for support. Most successful adult divisions have tied professional, business and voluntary groups in with their programs. They can constantly depend on them for cooperation and have on tap a dependable supply of students. These "community contacts" sometimes provide the dean with powerful allies in intra-university conflicts. To what extent does the evening school utilize community pressures and support to get what it wants and needs from the institution?

An unpublished survey was done in 1954 by the staff of the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults on the potential market for university liberal adult education. It was found that more than 60 per cent of the offerings in university resident centers, extension classes (which included evening colleges) and correspondence classes were in the professional and technical area. The number of liberal arts offerings was approximately 13,000 or 36 per cent of the total number; vocational offerings were approximately 23,300 or 64 per cent of the total. A sample check of ten AUEC institutions (the schools in this study) confirms this as the evening college picture.

Pattern of Curriculum Development

The primary orientation of the evening college curriculum, however, does not tell much about the pattern of curriculum development. The development takes place through the following stages: (1) random remedial offerings, (2) more systematic vocational or remedial offerings, (3) granting of evening degrees, and (4) program differentiation.

Random Remedial Offerings

The first courses offered in the evening are ones that are sure to draw an audience. The first dean at University J evening division explained how it happened at his institution:

When I came to submit my report (on the summer session to the

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> chancellor) at the end of the 1918 summer session late in August of that year, at the end of the report, which for all I know may still be in the files somewhere in the university, I added a single paragraph in which I incidentally expressed regret that in time of war, when all the agencies of the country were being extended to the limit, facilities for training for usefulness at the University were lying idle at the very time when those gainfully employed might use them. I outlined a plan by which the resources of certain departments (liberal arts) of the University could be opened to the public in the evening without financial hazard to the institution.

The director of the summer session was then commissioned to take over evening classes in 1919 and offer the resources of the liberal arts faculty to the extent that he could secure their cooperation.

The pattern of change then is for more and more daytime courses gradually to be offered at night. The movement is toward a more complete model of daytime offerings.

More Systematic Vocational or Remedial Offerings

Once a pattern of daytime courses has been established there is some attempt to develop certificate and associate degrees. One dean referred to this as "packaging courses."

> We as an evening college are charged by our president and our board of directors to recreate during evening hours, in packages, in package size, let's say, that which is available and digestible by people who are working during the day and going to school at night; we are here to re-offer to our community, on a municipal university basis, the offerings of the day university, the day colleges, through the evening colleges, during evening hours, to the community. And that would be true in liberal arts, engineering, commerce, and applied arts. . . . A student at night can't come and take one hour of a class three different times, therefore making the evening class exactly parallel to that of the day. So we have to repackage the thing for his individual convenience and consumption. Otherwise he won't buy it.

Eight of the ten evening colleges in this study offered some kind of certificate program. Universities B and I had not moved beyond the first stage of curriculum development.

Granting of Evening Degrees

Not very many institutions in the AUEC grant special degrees in the evening that are not offered also in the daytime. Only two institutions in this study presently do. Two others plan to in the future. Not all the deans and directors thought it necessary or desirable to have a separate degree. One who does explains it this way:

> The evening college offers the degree of bachelor of philosophy

whereas our day unit, of course, offers a degree of bachelor of arts. The degree is granted by the University, by the college, the evening college. The program itself was created by our evening faculty and staff, was approved by the faculty and the executive committee of the liberal arts college, and in turn by the President and Board of Directors. That's the tie in. In other words, with an evening college granting a liberal arts degree, along with the day college granting a liberal arts degree, we didn't want to have the same degree granted both day and evening with somewhat different programs. But at the same time as Dean of the Evening College, I saw no reason why the evening college should be completely free when the liberal arts college itself was the basic member in the liberal arts area as a college of the University itself.

Program Differentiation

Clark[1] suggests that distinctively different programs in an adult education enterprise be organized separately. This has been happening in some of the more complex evening college organizations whether by conscious design or not. When this happens the adult division begins to look more like an extension operation rather than a traditional daytime unit. Different types of personnel can be recruited and distinctive operations developed. According to Clark:

> Organizational separation protects each from the other and openly announces to the central personnel of the parent organization that there are different styles of adult education.[2]

This program differentiation is characteristic of University J. The division has a separate public relations person, supervisor of finances, counselor, librarian and program administrators. There are four program administrators of the evening program—in business administration, fine arts, engineering and liberal arts (including other general and professional programs). There are two coordinators of community centers, two directors of conference programs and four administrators of institutional branches. The point here is that each facet of the total program is organized separately with its own administrator and personnel. There has been a continuing growth of more and more special programs for special groups. Presently there are five M.A. degrees and one Ph.D. degree that can be obtained exclusively through this University College. The college, however, is not a degree-granting arm of the University.

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[1] Burton Clark, Adult Education in Transition: A Study of Institutional Insecurity (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956), p. 160.

[2] "Organizational Dynamics of Adult Education" (an unpublished paper), p. 22.

Program differentiation is only possible when there are a number of "lines" out into the community. This means connection with business, professional or voluntary associations of some sort. These associations have particular interests and needs. They require some kind of special patterned series of courses or programs. The most active institutions in drawing community groups into the university were A, F, and I. Developing programs for special groups is a way of forming a body of constituents that can be counted on for support. One significant dimension of the dean's or director's community relations is the way he uses his community support to change or consolidate his position within the university.

Non-credit Programs

Non-credit programs can appear on the scene at almost any point after the evening college gets past the initial stage of just offering random remedial courses. Its connection with the regular program is not immediately evident. Non-credit work is not the main staple of any of the ten institutions. The most definite thing that can be said about them is that a certain amount of automomy is required by the evening college before any non-credit work is attempted.

Generally, the feeling was, why work with non-credit offerings when they give no prestige in the university; and if you do, make them as much like the credit program as possible. One dean even suggested that non-credit programs be taken out of the evening college and that perhaps the alumni association could handle them. There was not much thinking evidenced about why people don't come to the non-credit offerings. As one dean put it, "I'm not interested in these groups. I find their comings and goings quite mysterious." One obtains general acceptance from all the men interviewed that credit and non-credit programs should be separated, but for different reasons.

There were only limited offerings available in non-credit areas at all ten institutions. It was possible, however, to classify all the programs on a four-point continuum by level of involvement in non-credit work:

1. Organization of non-credit study through course work. This is the easiest way to start a non-credit program: there is a large credit operation, but some students need remedial work—so courses are set up. These tend to proliferate and may even develop into programs whose primary aim is not remedial. The courses can be unrelated units

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or part of a sequence. Both units and sequences can be found at the same institutions. Some universities are definitely not interested in expanding their non-credit work; these courses prepare students for credit work or help them to brush up in some field. Organizing a course for which no credit is given is the easiest way to do this and does not involve any commitment to non-credit programming, at least in some cases.

2. Lecture series. A university's next attempt at systematic non-credit work is usually through this limited type of commitment. Further involvement does not, however, eliminate this staple—it may be a permanent and important part of a large non-credit operation.

3. Interest groups orientation. The university encourages groups to use the facilities of the university (professional fraternities, Great Books, World Politics). Such encouragement usually means some kind of community service outlook, but is not synonymous with community operation, which has a passive connotation ("they come and get us when they need us"). The university goes out to tie the interest groups in with the institution.

4. Residential setup. When this kind of non-credit organization is combined with the above, it represents the heaviest level of commitment an institution can have to non-credit work. Tailor-made programs, conferences, workshops are given by the institution to special adult groups in residence. This is distinguished from an interest group orientation by the more active involvement of the university staff.

Non-credit programs represent, by and large, a way of working with groups in the community that does not require the constant clearance with daytime administration. The mainstay of all the schools involved in this study is the credit course and credit program. Non-credit courses (sometimes called informal courses, which avoids the negative evaluation) are seen by some of the deans and directors as "feeders" for the more traditional programs. All non-credit programs tended to follow closely the credit course and program format. One dean stated that whatever success non-credit work has will be because it does not look very much different than what has traditionally been done as university work.

Barriers to the Growth of the Evening Program

All of the deans or directors encountered resistance in their plans to set up a complete curriculum in the evening. Day deans or department heads were not enthusiastic or, even worse, hostile. Questions about which divisions or departments were least cooperative about their responsibilities in the evening drew some widely scattered responses. The classical fields and little known areas (e.g., Arabic, Oriental, seminary) were not interested in cultivating any potential adult audiences. Location of other resistance to evening curriculum development was not classifiable by division. Here the whole network of interpersonal relationship and influence came into the picture. Sometimes resistance to the evening division clusters around a few powerful personalities in day departments. Some units of the university offer their own work in the evening apart from the evening division. This constitutes a very effective check on curriculum development in those areas.

Resistance to program growth then comes from three different areas: the most conservative parts of the university, generally liberal arts departments, like classics; personal biases or antagonisms on the part of department heads toward evening work; and the separate organization of evening courses apart from the evening division. The last area is the most difficult situation to change. Conservative sections of the university can be persuaded to be less reluctant, antagonistic department heads die eventually or are transferred, but a separate administrative organization is likely to outlast the life span of any of the present actors in the university drama.

Future Plans in Curriculum Development

An unpublished survey done by the author in 1955 on what kinds of programs could be expected to develop in the future indicated the following responses by evening deans:

1. Vocational credit programs. Most of the group saw a moderate to substantial increase here. About 1/4 of the group saw no increase of vocational credit programs. Evening deans tended to be slightly more optimistic about increases here than the total group (69%).

2. Liberal arts credit programs. Again most of the group saw an increase from moderate to substantial here (76%). About 21% saw little or no increase in liberal arts credit programs. The spread approximates the total group here.

3. Non-credit vocational. The evening deans see this as the real

pay-off in terms of expansion. Seventy-nine per cent saw increases from moderate to very great in this area. Those responding that they planned no program expansion here were for the most part institutions located in non-industrial and non-business areas.

4. Non-credit liberal arts programs. The evening deans saw some decrease in this kind of programming because of the great demand of the other three programs. Twenty per cent indicated they saw no program expansion here (compared to 11% for the total group). Lip-service commitment to this type of program is strong among all the respondents. From the indications, the non-credit liberal arts offerings will not fare as badly as one would expect.

The responses of the ten deans and directors here closely paralleled the responses of the total group. If the responses bear any relation to what will happen in the future, then liberal arts non-credit programs will suffer more than vocational non-credit programs. And vocational credit programs can be expected to expand more than liberal arts credit programs.

The Final Stabilization of the Evening Curriculum

There is some indication that the direction is toward more and more program differentiation in the more highly organized evening colleges. Differentiation enables the enterprise, in Houle's terms, "to modulate from one need to another." Programs can be and are organized around vocational, remedial and self-development needs. The evening college has been able, with this evolution, to develop a discerning group of constituents upon whom they can depend for support.

The adult division has not been able, however, to escape further the episodic character of adult education. Specifically, it has not begun to meet a basic human need which does not change (like professional certification) or develop a basic method which it can establish, like the library. Evening program developers have to take these two considerations into account before any more stable curriculum can emerge.

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ROLE OF THE PHYSICAL PLANT AND CAPITAL RESOURCES

One important clue to the position of any unit in the university social system is how much equipment it has. Because the adult division in the university does not have a corner on certain skills which it transmits, it cannot develop a large physical plant (say as the medical school does). I would suggest that to the extent the evening division does add more classrooms, lounges, bookstores and separate buildings the division increases in power in the university. There is a tendency for university adult education units to get separate facilities. When any university enterprise gets a separate building its stability and continuity is assured. Some of the ten universities involved in this study have separate downtown quarters which house the adult education division. These quarters are spatially separated from the main campus. What exactly is the relationship of the spatial separation to the development of autonomy?

The actual physical facilities and the financial resources of an evening division are extremely important in the development of that division. Part of this picture is the number of income-producing programs which the evening division operates, which has already been dealt with.

Spatial Separation From the Main Campus

Only two out of the ten evening divisions have separate buildings spatially separated from the main campus.

University H's downtown location housed the University's first commerce school which was an evening operation. They moved to their present quarters in 1926. The commerce school was set up as a day division on the main campus 10 years later, but the bulk of activity has always been in the evening school. The downtown campus of University H houses the University's professional schools also. A separate building was built for the evening division. And so, too, was the bookstore, library and lounge. They are presently in the process of building a new evening study hall. Technically, the use of these facilities could be restricted to evening students, but the space is used during the day by students from the professional schools. All space on the downtown and the main campuses, after 4:00 P.M., is under the evening dean's jurisdiction. Comparatively they have more space available than any other division in the University. Until 1954 the evening division was a collection of evening schools organized primarily under the Commerce School and University College. The evening commerce division and University College were the only two units that had developed any distinctive character. The consolidation of all evening work recently has temporarily eclipsed whatever character and individuality the two divisions had. A reorganization is again being considered that will in effect establish an evening university unlike any in the country. The fact that this could occur can be traced back mainly to the autonomy encouraged by the spatial separation from the main campus.

University J's adult education division moved to its present quarters several miles from the main campus in 1939. It is conveniently located to the center of town, but could not strictly be designated as a downtown college. University College has two of its own buildings with classrooms, administrative offices, auditorium, library and lounge. They are in the process of building another. This will give them an "adult campus" covering about half a city block. The dean felt that this had a noticeable effect on the attitude of the adult student toward this institution. They were happy to be identified with University College. University J's University College combines the old division of adult education, whose focus was on the night school students in the city's downtown area, and the school of extension teaching which supervised off-campus classes and centers over the State. University College's present autonomy and development are partly the result of the spatial separation, but more because of the old extension division (see below).

University A's evening division had originally been located in the downtown area, but they moved to the campus in 1950. The history of that move illustrates the importance of spatial separation from the campus. In 1949 the building downtown was condemned. The evening college was faced with the prospect of renting space downtown while a new building was built for them downtown. The dean of the college discussed it with his assistant dean. They noted that evening students never had felt part of the University. The outside staff and even the regular University staff had no identification with the evening operation. The former dean had alienated many administrators and faculty on campus also. The present administrators saw the important task at the time to consolidate the gains that the former dean had made. They decided that the college should be brought out to the campus to give the students a feeling of belonging to a University. There was no fear that this move would decrease their prestige in the University or would mean less space. Actually, the day divisions would rather have had them stay downtown at the time. The dean was afraid of the move because it might mean a drop in enrollment. The campus is at the northern edge of the city. The assistant dean, whose field was statistics, did a study of the population center and the occupational population center. He concluded that a move to the northern end of the city would not mean a big drop in enrollment—at most 10%. Actually, a slight gain occurred because they picked up a lot of people who would not go downtown. And they lost some of those who would not come out to the edge of the city. The chancellor was wary about giving up the downtown location and asked that space be rented downtown for another semester while the campus move was made, and programs continued to be offered there. They discovered after the move was made that they could not fill classes downtown. They still offer one or two classes in the downtown area. The evening dean confessed that he missed an opportunity when he didn't get in on the construction of the downtown law school building so that the evening college could have used the facilities in the evening. The evening division at present is planning a building on campus with special classrooms designed for adults (conference rooms) with an adult lounge, library facilities and office space. The long-range plan is to build a conference center which would bring the college more directly into conferences and institutes. The spatial separation allowed the college to develop autonomously during the early years to the point where moving back to the campus constitutes no threat.

The evening director at University B explained that in 1954 there was some discussion in the administrative council of the University about moving the evening division downtown. He was reluctant to talk about it, but I gathered that he favored this move and was pushing it. University B is at the northwest section of the city and gets few office workers from the downtown area in its evening classes. The president did not favor the move, nor was it supported by any of the key day deans. The reason given was that University B could not support a plant that would give the local State university extension any competition. The whole matter was dropped. University B's evening director saw the possibilities inherent in being spatially separated from the campus. He realized that it would be a big step in the development of an autonomous division.

The establishment of evening commerce classes in 1906 at University C pre-dated the founding of day commerce by six years. These courses were given in the downtown area, but after the establishment of the day commerce divisions the evening sessions were moved to the campus. University C's campus is several miles from the downtown area. The evening divisions were housed originally in an old building on the "lower campus." The physical location pointed to the lower prestige of the evening division in relation to the rest of the University. A new administration building was built ten years ago, and the evening college was given a luxurious set of offices at one end. The dean sees no need for separate facilities. He has charge of all space after 5:00 P.M., except in the College of Education. He has never considered a downtown location:

> "I think the students like to come to campus—it makes them feel a part of the University. The grounds are pretty, and we're not too far away from the downtown area. Going downtown wouldn't noticeably increase our enrollment and space rental would be prohibitive."

University C represents a strong, well developed autonomous evening division that seems to have evolved without benefit of spatial separation from the main campus.

University D is located about one mile from the downtown area. The evening division's very adequate administrative offices are located in the administration building. The evening dean has complete control over the use of buildings after 4:00 P.M. The dean feels that the city is growing very fast and the outlying areas are not being served very well. He would like to set up neighborhood centers similar to his forty-three extension centers throughout the State. Another expansion he sees in the future is the building of a conference center that would be under the jurisdiction of the evening college. The college developed autonomy on its own without benefit of spatial separation from the main campus. University D's extension centers were the key factor in the division's present position in the University.

University E is located on the city's fashionable east side about a forty-five-minute trolley ride from the downtown area. The evening division's administrative offices are located in the University administration building. The evening director shares his office space with two other people not connected with the evening division. In 1932, after University E had moved to its present site, there was some discussion about getting a building downtown to encourage a bigger enrollment. They thought they were too far out. But nothing was done and since then the population of the city has moved out toward them. At present they could consider themselves in the population center of the region. The evening director is thinking of getting into the area of non-credit institutes and short courses. If this develops he will rent space nearby.

The evening sessions at University F were never spatially separated from the campus. The University is located in the northern part of the city. There is no suggestion that the evening college go downtown. The dean would be reluctant to leave the campus. He is now considering other locations but not downtown. He plans to schedule classes at a University estate nearby, but this would not mean any spatial separation of the college. It is difficult to speculate on what further development could have taken place had the college been spatially separated from the campus. Presently they have almost as much autonomy as any of the day divisions.

University G's division of adult education is located in the liberal arts building on their main campus. Their office space is quite adequate. As yet the evening director (soon to be named dean) does not have complete control over all space after 4:00 P.M., but the movement is in that direction. There are no separate buildings, lounges, libraries or bookstores. There are no plans for expansion of facilities at present. The campus of University G is located in the downtown area, so no question of downtown buildings for the evening division has ever come up.

University I has the most inadequate facilities of all the schools visited. The director and his secretary have one part of the large admissions office in the administration building. The space is partitioned off in an area 10' by 10'. There never was any discussion about setting up a building downtown. The University I campus is only about two miles from the center of the city.

The point to be made on physical facilities is that in the early stages of growth an evening division needs freedom to develop. One way this can be assured is through the spatial separation from the main campus. Once the evening division has developed a distinctive character moving to the main campus poses no threat.

Endowments

The growth of a particular university function is usually assured once outside endowments are established for it. None of the evening schools studied had endowments similar to those of the medical or professional schools. There was no research money in use at all.

University A's student association has set up four scholarships a year to cover a student's tuition. University C also has several tuition scholarships. So, too, do Universities H and J. The other six schools had no such arrangement. The indication is that scholarship funds will become more widespread. The trend is in this direction. The funds, however, will always be meager compared to the scholarships given in the day school.

There is no indication that endowment has played an important role in the development of the adult unit, nor that it will in the future. Development offices and university administrators try to discourage encumbered funds. An exception to this was the President of University F, who remarked at the establishment of the College, "As the work of the College develops we hope for endowment support." They are not always successful, and they rarely refuse to accept funds earmarked for a particular purpose. The evening dean at University B was astonished when asked if his evening division had any separate endowments. The idea struck him as novel. Endowments may be set up for specific programs under the auspices of the evening college. This has not occurred yet. Several deans thought that there was a likelihood that those skills the evening division is peculiarly suited to offer the business and industrial community (e.g., executive training) will be subsidized by the more prosperous segments of that community.

Tuition Assistance by Industry

One development that has appeared since the war is the interest industry has taken in the upgrading of its personnel through the evening school. This form of subsidization promises to become more important in the future and may affect significantly the development of the evening college. All the schools visited had some kind of tuition payment plan extending from a simple payroll deduction to a flat remuneration.

Twenty six per cent of the University A evening student body were subsidized by industry. This more than makes up for the veterans who constituted only 20% of the student body at their peak. University A was the only institution of the ten that kept records on tuition assistance.

The dean at University C guessed that industry is subsidizing payment for about 20% of the evening college student body. The evening college tie-up with business and industrial groups (only partly through the tuition assistance) is the main base of power of the University C evening college. The dean stated that representatives of local industry have told him that part of the reason for moving to the city was that there was a University there that was interested in upgrading their personnel. They would really set up a clamor if the evening program were cut back. They have a vested interest in the evening college's continued existence.

University F also has a large number of industrial tuition assistance students, but the dean could not estimate how many. The development office each year gets a list of students employed at businesses and industries in the area (whether they have tuition assistance or not) and uses it in its fund-raising campaigns—"Look how the evening college is serving your company."

At University G about 5% of the student body had tuition assistance. The director estimated that it would go up to 20% or more. The same situation prevailed at Universities H, I, and J, where industry subsidization estimates ran from about 5% to 20%.

The trend is for a larger proportion of students to have tuition assistance from community groups. This effects a stabilization of the student body and sets up the evening college as a service agency of business and industrial groups.

Budget

All of the schools in this study were large enough so that they made their own budget and submitted it to the proper fiscal officer of the university. All the schools were charged costs of operation other than instructional and administrative expense. The methods of making such overhead charges varied widely and seemed to bear no relationship to the stage of development that the evening college was in. In the ten schools visited, any excess of income over expenditures is credited to the general funds of the institution at the end of the year. This follows the practice of most other evening divisions in the United States. An excess of income over expenses in any given year was not allowed to be carried over into the next year in any of the ten schools. All of the evening divisions had to be self-supporting. None of them were subsidized out of other university funds. The development in budget control in all schools moved from being included under another day division to separate budget.

Extension Centers and Off-Campus Holdings

Three of the ten institutions had extension centers—Universities D, I, and J. D and J are among the most powerful evening divisions of the ten. In these cases, the extension centers function to protect the evening college operation.

Until just recently University J's home State had no State university and University J moved into the area of extension teaching in the upper part of the State. These extension centers were under the old division of extension teaching which was later organized under University College. Several of University J's extension centers have become independent units, and one has become part of the new State university system.

The situation at University D was somewhat similar. The State university is prevented by charter from having off-campus extension centers. They have shown no initiative in setting up off-campus classes throughout the State. University D's evening college moved in to fill the vacuum and set up 43 off-campus extension centers. By and large, classes are held in public schools, but the evening division does have some buildings of its own. The evening dean at University D would like to go all-out in the development of extension centers but is held back by the president's wishes. The evening dean feels that the "sky is the limit" in extension in his State. In every case where an extension center exists, it has been requested by the local community to come in.

University I's evening school also has what might be called an "extension center," although the University does not use the term. There is a graduate program at a nearby Air Force Base that has been running continuously for eleven years. This has not functioned at University I to upgrade the evening division or stabilize it. The director sees it as more activity in an already overworked division. This off-campus center could function to strengthen the position of the evening college, but other factors operating at University I do not encourage evening college growth.

The evening college at University A is also moving in the direction of setting up extension centers. Since 1953 the college has been investigating the possibility of establishing a new extension center or an institutional branch. The advisory committee of the college, since 1953, has approved the expansion of evening college operations through an institutional center.

> "Subject to the availability of qualified faculty personnel, we plan to increase the number of courses which are offered on an extension basis. This, as distinguished from the establishment of an institutional branch, represents the offering of selected credit courses to satisfy the needs of special groups. To avoid the criticism of offering everything to everybody, everywhere, it is our policy to make available such off-campus courses to groups of individuals at points not less than twenty miles distant from the campus."[1]

This move can be seen as part of an attempt to consolidate the gains made by the college over the last twenty years.

The movement on the part of some of the stronger evening divisions seems to be toward the setting up of extension classes and off-campus centers. This development combines the evening college and extension functions under one administration. The reorganization that is expected at University I will also include evening and extension work.

Conference Centers and Other Capital Equipment

Only University J, of the ten institutions, had a conference center arrangement. Universities A and D were planning conference centers, but they are still in the blueprint stage. The evening college of University J runs conferences in its own buildings and also has use of the main campus facilities. The evening college's conference management staff coordinates and administers all conferences meeting under the auspices of the University. They also hold administrative responsibility for the operation of the University's three conference centers.

In the course of the history of any evening college it administers a number of different enterprises, sometimes quite far removed from its interest. These units are not to be ignored, however, since their enrollments are tallied in with the evening division's figures and they do bring with them classroom space and capital equipment.

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[1] Report to the Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, Part B, p. 21, October, 1956.

At University A the School of Nursing and the School of Social Work were begun in the evening college. Their inauguration followed negotiations with groups of nurses and social workers who were interested in setting up programs. In 1953 the School of Nursing was separated from the evening college, and the same thing will occur with the School of Social Work next year. This splintering followed recommendations made by the accrediting association. The School of Education has also established a separate evening unit. The evening college fought each one of these changes but was unable to prevent any of them. The evening college functions primarily to set up new activities (like a traffic management program which is being set up this year), or to take over those activities that have merged with the University. The important thing to note is that the college has not grown by taking over activities associated with other schools in the University. The evening college seems to play the role of acculturator to new activities and organizations that become part of the University. A local art school affiliated with the University several years ago and is administered through the evening division. The art school has Saturday morning classes for primary groups (7-10), intermediate groups (10-14), and high school groups. Technically, these children are all students in the evening college!

Several years ago a local school of music affiliated with University B and became the College of Music of the University. It is administratively organized under the evening division. They have their own buildings in the downtown area and run their own program pretty autonomously. The evening director leaves the music school pretty much alone, but since he is technically in charge of their buildings he could press for offering other programs using their facilities.

One pattern of growth that some evening colleges have evidenced is to take over some organization (like a commission, an institute, an association) that has had an independent development. This, in some ways, reflects the way universities as a whole develop (e.g., University J took over a local medical college; University C took over the city law school, etc.). The institutional structures of many evening colleges are jerry-built like many American cities. Their development was an immediate expedient designed to serve the needs of the moment, with the unexpressed reservation that they would be patched up or discarded when fresh demands made themselves felt.

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SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The history of the university adult education enterprise closely parallels the growth of the parent institution. It is a microcosm of the total university. All the universities studied here showed the same pattern of growth. The hypothesized life cycle indicates an establishment of evening work under a part-time director that proceeds to a separate administrative organization with a full-time director. Paralleling this development is the growth of a stable student body, the increasing professionalization of the staff, program growth and accumulation of capital equipment. The kind of university that spawns the evening college does shape to a certain extent the character of the evening division. But for the purposes of tracing institutional development and change the common characteristics are more significant.

The university (as shown by the ten institutions here) starts out as a small academy and develops into a college; or it starts out as a denominational training school and medical college and develops into a university. The pattern of growth then is by affiliating with other existing educational agencies, music schools, engineering institutes, nursing schools, etc. Any agency seemingly that deals with a fairly complex level of education naturally gravitates or drifts into the university's institutional structure. Medicine, engineering and commerce all started outside the university and later were incorporated into it. The evening college, on a smaller scale, shows the same pattern of development as the parent organization. Sometimes institutes separately founded and organized are affiliated with an evening college. The pattern, most pronounced at Universities A and G, illustrates the evening college as the university's agent of change. New activities are begun there, institutes or schools are affiliated through the evening divisions and later transferred to a traditional day division. This shows the pattern of growth of the whole university, but from the evening division's point of view it represents an institutionalizing process followed by a deinstitutionalizing process. These processes are occurring simultaneously with different facets of the evening enterprise.

The Student Population

The development of the adult education division's status and power within the university is partially dependent on the number and kinds of students the evening division attracts. The hypothesis here states that there is a tendency to develop a student body committed for a certain period of time. This student body develops in a particular way:

1. Immediately after the adult division is formed there are a number of "cleanups" from the day division to be handled. They are the initial audience to be served. A sub-hypothesis on the stabilization of the student body is that these "cleanups" have a tendency to disappear and are replaced by "settleds." These then form the staple of the adult student body. The evolution of the evening division is inhibited if this group of "settleds" does not constitute the bulk of evening enrollment. From the point of view of the evening division the "settleds" are those students who can be predicted to return each term and whose supply is not immediately exhaustible.

2. One indication of the stability of the adult division is whether there are any alumni of the adult school and what role they play in its development. After a stable public emerges there is a tendency for an adult student culture to emerge.

Responsiveness to changes in demands by the community may affect the character of the student body. Occasionally the evening division gets a temporary boom in enrollment due to forces operating out in the community (e.g., the State may pass a law requiring all teachers to have a course in American History). These fluctuations in the student body can obscure the cycle and modify the above two hypotheses.

The hypotheses on the student population were substantially borne out. The first step in stabilizing the student body is to pull the day "cleanups" and the "unclassifieds" more intensively into the evening program and persuade them to matriculate through the evening division. In most of the evening colleges there was some attempt either to get rid of the "cleanups" or change their classification to evening students. The cleanup students can bring the dean into conflict with his colleagues since their status is unclear. There is a problem of overlapping jurisdiction. Changing a student's classification requires that the evening division have enough autonomy to regulate the composition of its student body. The attempt is to eliminate the cleanup and unclassified student or somehow control their numbers. The dean or director does this by using different strategies:

1. Counseling and Advising Students. The counseling system functions to keep the group of all unclassified and day cleanup students small by getting them to state their goals in degree or certificate terms.
2. Encouraging the Development of an Evening Student Culture. The growth of consciousness of being an evening student is when individuals identify themselves as degree seekers or as part of an evening program. The evening division encourages this by setting up professional fraternities, student councils and social clubs. The most complex type of development is student consciousness organized around the differentiated programs in the evening.

Fluctuations in enrollment that might obscure the life cycle of the evening college or modify the hypotheses stated above are rare. Unexpected increases in students are not likely to occur with well established evening divisions. By and large, these deans and directors had their fingers on the pulse of the community and could anticipate shifts in enrollment. The only time these fluctuations are likely to obscure the growth of the evening divisions is in its early stages. When enrollments are small and the evening dean is new, a sudden rush of several hundred extra students is likely to give a distorted picture of what is happening.

Persons who seek out university education at night are usually the upwardly mobile middle class. The data uncovered in this study suggest that the trend is for more lower middle class people to avail themselves of these educational opportunities. The deans, however, noted the emergence of a new audience whose educational motives had more to do with entrenchment than advancement. This group is yet quite small, but we can predict that it will become proportionally larger.

The Evening Administrator

The hypothesis here was that there is a tendency to choose a dean from the academic world rather than business or industry. The administrator generally comes from (1) the "practical world," (2) a subject matter specialty, (3) from other administrative posts in the university, or (4) from professional training in adult education. The general hypothesis is that only the last area produces a professional who will make adult education his career. There are several sub-hypotheses on the profession of university adult educator:

(1) With the increasing stabilization of the adult division the "itinerant" administrator emerges. This is the interchangeable professional whose skills and training permit him to move in and out of adult administrative units.

(2) To the extent the adult division is not stabilized nor the field of university adult education legitimized, the "homeguard" adult administrator will be the norm. The homeguard administrator is the man whose identification with adult education is temporary since he moves around to several administrative posts within the university.

The findings indicate that the dean or director characteristically comes from teaching a subject matter specialty and from other administrative posts within the university. Evening administrators increasingly are coming from professional training in adult education and less and less from the "practical world." There is a move toward professionalizing the field by attempting to (a) systematize a body of knowledge and skills, (b) consciously pattern a well-marked route of training, and (c) develop a professional subculture which includes a special terminology and shared values.

The movement is also toward more decision-making responsibility for the dean and director in general administrative assignments, control over student body, faculty and program as the evening college evolves. There is no evidence, however, that the evening division will stabilize to the point of developing a corps of itinerant administrators. Most administrators will continue to see the job of evening deaning as one step in a career that leads to other jobs within the university system.

The Faculty

The trend is toward a regular salary schedule and tenure for evening faculty; also there is a tendency to develop a full-time faculty teaching in the evening division. Presently there is a high turnover in faculty appointments. In some cases the evolution of the adult division brings with it a full-time faculty. This is not the pattern, however. Stabilization usually occurs with a joint appointment system. Faculty members do not see their career in adult teaching—though they may be quite interested in it. Their careers are tied to the university world—which means teaching students in the daytime on campus.

The data indicate that by and large evening divisions function with two faculties, the campus group and teachers from the community. Most evening divisions aim for a joint appointment system for their faculty rather than a full-time faculty. This gives the administrator the cooperation of the day divisions with freedom to get outside people when necessary. This is to view the whole faculty problem from the point of view of the growth requirements of the evening organization.

The Curriculum

The tendency is toward a more complete offering of all programs given during the daytime. When divisions are empowered to grant degrees (B.A., M.A., others) their status is enhanced. The division's power within the university is also increased to the extent that there is a wide range of income-producing programs in operation. With this tendency go several other trends:

1. There is a movement toward more and more "packaging" of offerings. Usually attempts are made to sell programs instead of discrete courses. Associate degrees and certificates are coming more and more into the picture.
2. The development is in the direction of escaping the episodic character of adult education.
   (a) The enterprise, through its program, modulates from one need to another. Each evening division tries to find its survival pattern by striking a balance between what might be called "vocational," "remedial" and "self-development" needs which it fulfills.
   (b) The evening division is moving to deal with some basic human need which doesn't change.
   (c) The evening school is attempting to carve out a basic method like the library, which is can establish.
   (d) The adult unit tries to develop so discerning a group of constituents that they can be counted on for support. These become "community contacts" which can provide the dean with powerful allies in intra-university conflicts.

The data shows that the development in programming is to repeat as widely as possible all daytime curricula. This means getting active involvement in all the daytime departments, especially the key ones. Resistance to program growth comes from three different areas: the most conservative departments in the university (generally liberal arts departments, like classics); personal biases or antagonisms of department heads toward evening work; and the separate organization of evening courses apart from the evening division. Programming outside the regular credit framework is not something that has been exploited by any of the ten universities. None of the evening divisions has seen non-credit programming as a way of giving a distinctive coloration to the adult enterprise.

Special programming for adult business groups, professional groups and the urban voluntary associations is a distinctive feature in the more highly developed evening divisions. The most successful evening divisions have also managed to differentiate the educational needs they are serving and modulate from one to the other. They have developed a number of differentiated programs. They have also been able to encourage the growth of a constituency that can be counted on for support through their relationships with community groups. Highly developed adult enterprises, too, have a history of using evening division community allies in intra-university conflicts.

The adult division has not been able, however, to escape further the episodic character of adult education. Specifically, they have not begun to meet a basic human need which does not change (like professional certification) nor develop a basic method which they can firmly establish (like leadership training). The development of a more stable curriculum in the evening must take these considerations into account.

Physical Plant and Capital Equipment

The hypothesis here is that there is a tendency to develop a substantial amount of capital equipment. One important clue to the position of any unit in the university social system is how much equipment it has. Because the adult division in the university does not have a corner on certain skills which it transmits it cannot develop a large physical plant (say as the medical school does). To the extent the evening division does add more classrooms, lounges, bookstores and separate buildings the division increases in power in the university. There is a tendency for university adult education units to get separate facilities. When any university enterprise gets a separate building, its stability and continuity are assured. Two of the ten universities involved in this study have separate downtown quarters which house the adult education division. These quarters are spatially separated from the main campus.

1. One hypothesis that follows from the above is that spatial separation from the main campus is directly connected with the amount of autonomy the evening division has.

2. The second is that off-campus holdings (extension centers, conference centers) can be directly related to the position of the evening division within the university system. A large investment in these properties means a strong, autonomous division.

The evidence on spatial separation from the main campus was mixed. The school with largest and best equipped physical plant and spatially separated from the main campus had very little power within the university. Other factors seem to be more decisive than the amount of physical equipment. Spatial separation from the main campus also seems to play a limited role in the evening college's development. The relationship between spatial separation and autonomy is not clear-cut. Only two of the ten institutions had separate campuses for their evening division. One had a great deal of autonomy and the other had very little. The fact that some divisions are housed on the same campus seems to bear little or no relationship to their autonomy. Seemingly their growth would neither be aided nor checked by having separate quarters downtown. Separate off-campus housing would definitely have contributed, on the other hand, to the autonomy of other evening divisions.

A more crucial element in the evening division's autonomy seems to be the number of conference centers, off-campus holdings and residential meeting places an evening division has. This seems to be one of the primary bases for the success of some evening divisions.

It is important to note that physical equipment, space, number of buildings and the like are not static qualities which determine and control the destiny of the evening division but what people in the institution believe about their physical setting influences their use of it. An understanding of the history of any evening division and its environs depends on insights into cultural definitions—changing through time—of how to use and live with certain physical equipment and how to develop it.

Modifications of the Hypotheses

There are certain conditions for the growth of the evening college that can affect basically the final product. These internal and external factors modify the hypothesis concerning the evening college's life cycle. They must be taken into account in assessing the role institutional history, kind of student body, staffing, curriculum and physical plant play in the adult unit's final evolution. These are: leadership within the university, the community setting of the evening college and the university's self image.

Leadership Within the University

Leadership within the university refers first and foremost to the president. An evening division can flourish even against the antagonism of the day deans if the evening dean or director has the firm support of the president. Both University A and University B reached a high peak of development during favorable administrations. Both evening administrators, however, did so at the expense of daytime cooperation, and their successors had to work at restoring daytime relations. An optimum condition for growth is to have the positive support of the president. Together with this the key day deans (liberal arts, engineering, education and commerce) must be favorably disposed toward the evening division of the university. The important point here is the enormous and decisive influence of the president, even though it does not singly explain any evening college's success. The lack of administrative enthusiasm can check an evening division's growth.

The Community Setting of the Evening College

The evening college flourishes in an urban setting when there is no strong competition to hamper its development. All the well-organized and complex evening divisions have practically uninhibited control over all evening college opportunities in their community. University B's evening division dramatically illustrates how competition from two State-supported universities within the same city has placed sharp limitations on how it develops. Even though University F's evening college does have some competition, it early preempted the field and is unquestioned leader in university adult education in its city. The community setting of the university is not the only factor operating either, otherwise it would have positively assured the mature development of University G (the largest and most influential university in its city), University H (one of the earliest pioneers in the city area which would allow almost unrestricted development) and University I (the "only" university in its city). A further modifying element in the evening college's growth is the university's conception of itself.

The University's Self Image

A complex level of evening college development also depends on the university's conception of itself and its responsibilities to the community. This is usually ascertained through some kind of recognition of the university's community responsibility in the charter of the institution and the statements of presidents who implement the community mandate or state it as a policy themselves. This is most clear-cut in looking at a municipal university like University C. Its community is well defined and its charter specifically states its responsibilities to the educational needs of the whole city. This conception the university has of itself is not coterminous with the source of its control—public (State, municipal), private or denominational. It is, however, closely connected. A municipally supported university must think of itself as a community college. And the community-oriented arm of that university can be expected to be quite strong and well developed. There is, however, in the absence of a community municipal college in an urban area, strong pressure for private universities to become, at least partly, community colleges. This has happened at Universities A, D, F and J, all private universities. The pressure to become a community college (i.e., to serve the adult education needs of a particular community) even operates on the denominational university. The most interesting example here is University G. The University has traditionally viewed its role as higher education for the Catholic community, primarily in its city. The higher education story of the city, however, is practically the history of the University. Almost by default the University began to serve some of the educational needs of the city business and industrial community. The present president of the University is very much interested in making it more aware of the city's educational needs and opportunities. The possibility is strong that the University may become the city's Community College.

The point here is that the tradition of a university—how it characteristically sees itself—is most favorable to the complex development of the evening college when the university views itself as a community college. And further the source of control is not an infallible index of what a university conceives itself to be.

The model that the evening college is moving toward does not seem to be the one of a traditional liberal arts division. Its characteristic contours look more like a professional school. The more highly developed evening divisions have also taken on many extension functions. These functions are a strong stabilizing factor. Extension functions are usually not transferrable; daytime administrators would not relish taking them over.

Conclusions

There are several factors which favor the continuity and growth of an evening college venture. If the evening dean follows in the footsteps of an illustrious predecessor who has remained at his post for a number of years, the present position of the division is partially consolidated. Combine this with the interested cooperation of the president, and the evening division is pretty well stabilized. Other types of support, from the community, from within the university and especially by accrediting groups also have a powerful consolidating influence. Acceptance of the evening college by a national or regional accrediting agency, its recognition by the appropriate professional organizations and studies made of its area by a foundation or other influential body help stabilize the division. A final consolidating factor is the continuity supplied by the faculty and administrators of the evening college, especially its advisory board, if it has one.

An evening college grows not simply as a reaction to other influences at work in the university and the community. The leadership within the evening division has characteristically perceived and used the opportunities in its environment. This is most dramatically pinpointed in the various uses the deans and directors have made of community advisory boards. The evening college and the people in it, however, do not plan their future growth step by step. This is well-nigh impossible in an unstable enterprise. Rather the path forward is marked by quick perception, critical decision and adaptive enterprise.

An evening college grows, too, not only by its own perceptions and decisions but with the complementary perceptions and decisions of people in the university and the community that the evening college has a function for them. The evening division's range of influence is not a by-product, but an essential for its growth and maintenance.

Evening colleges and the universities of which they are a part are transformed through time. Little is known of the variations in the tempo, content and emphases of the evening college—of its life history. University D was concerned primarily with remedial publics in its earlier years. Later it sloughs off this coloration and addresses itself to the task of building up a new educational mode appropriate to an evening college lying outside the more traditional orbits of the university—the whole area of "refresher" programming.

It is compelling for the researcher writing about an institution of some size to indulge the illusion that its growth was steadily cumulative and fully intended from the first. Such an assumption tends to smooth out much of the drama of events in development, to understate false starts and the progressive redirection of the organization's purposes. A good portion of evening college history remains untold because some contemporary aims are understated, sometimes even wholly neglected. Since each organization bears the consequences of its mistakes as well as its correct judgments, leaving out part of the story makes for unnecessary mystery and ambiguity.

Evening colleges are fairly recent phenomena. They can be said to symbolize the modern American city. Institutional structures of the city were jerry-built also. They were an immediate expedient designed to serve the needs of the moment, with the unexpressed reservation that they would be patched up or discarded when fresh demands made themselves felt. As was the case with the evening college, there was either not time to build better, or the pressure for expansion turned out to be far greater than even the boldest spirits had foreseen.

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REISSUED

NEW PERSPECTIVES IN UNIVERSITY CORRESPONDENCE STUDY

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CENTER *for the* **STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS**

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THE CENTER *for the* **STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS** was established as the result of a grant from the Fund for Adult Education to work with the universities providing liberal education for adults. The official purpose of the Center is to "provide aid and leadership to the forces that can develop the evening college and extension movement into a more effective instrument for the liberal education of adults." Communications may be addressed to the Director, 4819 Greenwood Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois.

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INTRODUCTION

Correspondence study through universities has a long and varied history dating back to the last half of the nineteenth century. In some instances, it preceded the development of other forms of university adult education which have since become predominant means for relating the university's resources to the adult public.

Questions have been raised by some observers concerning the appropriateness of home-study programs in a society that is largely urban in character. It is suggested that the modern adult student is almost always within easy commuting distance of a variety of educational resources—high schools, junior and community colleges, and in some instances, university campuses. Most of these institutions provide extensive late afternoon and evening programs for part-time students. Our authors, however, perceive of correspondence education as a continuing and integral part of the university's total adult education efforts.

Correspondence instruction is still for many people the only route to university education. In many instances, individuals continue to be geographically separated from any university resources at all, while others may require highly specialized education that can be obtained only from an institution hundreds of miles distant. Thousands of others *prefer* to study on their own through a home-study program despite the unusual discipline that such activity demands.

The authors of this publication have devoted long years of practice, study and research to the problems of correspondence study. We believe that the results of their investigations and insights presented here represent an important contribution to the field of higher adult education.

George H. Daigneault, Staff Associate

Center for the Study of
Liberal Education for Adults

Chicago, Illinois
March, 1961

PART I

CORRESPONDENCE STUDY TODAY

Chapter I

CORRESPONDENCE STUDY IN THE UNITED STATES —AN OVERVIEW

The educational imperatives of the 1960's have forced educators and plain citizens alike to look searchingly at the whole apparatus of American education. Until now relatively little attention has been given to correspondence study to evaluate the potentials of this method of learning as an important supplement to the regular, formal teaching programs on the high school and college levels. However, present demands and the current concern for the improvement of "lifelong" learning opportunities for adults, especially opportunities for a liberal education which "gives a man a clear, conscious view of his own opinions and judgments," and which "teaches him to see things as they are," have focused attention on the many methods (including correspondence study) that presently convey liberal as well as vocational educational opportunities to adults.

The effective and imaginative use of correspondence study can and may affect the form and quality of American educational opportunity in the years ahead. While this volume deals specifically with university-sponsored correspondence study in the United States, this chapter presents a general overview of all kinds of correspondence study in the United States. Succeeding chapters will examine in greater detail the directions which university-sponsored correspondence study is taking, and suggest a number of ways in which this oldest form of extension education can be used as a vital, modern tool for providing needed educational opportunities at several levels and in a variety of formats.

The Scope of Correspondence Study

Correspondence study has come to constitute a large and important part of the whole complex of education in the United States. Its growth over the years has been so gradual and so little publicized that most people are quite unaware of the present dimensions of the correspondence study movement. The importance of the program, however, can be underscored by considering what would happen if the opportunity to study by correspondence were suddenly to be withdrawn. The educational and training programs of the military services would, to a large extent, collapse; business and industry would be seriously disrupted as thousands of skilled personnel either gave up their jobs periodically to return to school or ceased to improve themselves through continued study; the ranks of teachers would be thinned since many could not continue to meet certification standards; engineers and technicians would be hard pressed to keep up with new developments in their respective fields; it would become increasingly difficult to find people to accept overseas assignments, since parents of school-age children would find it necessary to choose between leaving families at home or depriving their children of the opportunity to prepare for further education in this country and for living in our own culture; many isolated students, and those homebound because of physical disability, would be almost totally without educational opportunities; and thousands of students in small high schools would find that, instead of being able to select from a very wide variety of subject offerings, they were reduced to taking only such courses as happened to be offered locally.

Some idea of the scope of the correspondence program may be derived from an examination of the number of enrollments involved. In 1958-59, the most recent year for which information is available, 45 colleges and universities reported 98,696 enrollments in college correspondence study courses; 38 institutions reported 55,461 enrollments in high school level courses; and 26 institutions listed 6,631 enrollments in non-credit courses. Since hundreds of colleges and universities offer work by correspondence study, it is clear that the reported enrollments constitute only a fraction of the actual total. Private correspondence schools report an annual enrollment of 850,000 and the United States Armed Forces Institute enrolls annually some 240,000 students in courses developed by the Institute. When the correspondence study programs operated by the various branches of the Armed Forces are taken into consideration, the total number of personnel in the Armed Forces enrolled in correspondence courses may reach well over one million students per year. Many industries and retail organizations operate correspondence study programs for their employees. It is quite apparent that correspondence programs in this country reach and influence several million people each year.

The reasons for the phenomenal growth of correspondence study are not difficult to find. Modern demands for education, and the variety of their forms, are so great that conventional means of education cannot, by themselves, begin to cope with the situation. Social and technological changes occur so rapidly that some flexible form of instruction which can be fitted into the daily schedule is necessary if people are to keep abreast of new developments. The mobility of our population demands a form of education which can follow the student wherever he goes. The essential fact is that correspondence study does not suffer from time or space limitations and, hence, may be used where other forms of education are not readily feasible or, as in some cases, are totally impossible. Correspondence study may also, of course, be used to expand and enrich established residence programs of education.

Organizations Which Provide Correspondence Study in the United States

In the United States correspondence study is usually provided by three types of organizations. Correspondence programs operated by the Armed Forces provide education exclusively to those in military service; privately operated organizations appeal primarily to people in business and industry; and the correspondence study programs of colleges and universities draw their enrollees from the ranks of students, business and professional people, and that part of the general public which is interested in personal self-improvement.

College and University Correspondence Study Programs

Correspondence programs operated by institutions of higher learning tend to be academically oriented. They are often designed for students with course credit or degree objectives, often for teachers and others who must meet certification requirements, and sometimes, though not as commonly, for those whose purposes are primarily cultural. Many universities have developed programs primarily directed toward those whose basic concern is with continuing education, and this trend is notably on the increase.

High school level correspondence study programs offered by colleges and universities tend to be broadly conceived. While the traditional academic subjects are by no means ignored, enrichment becomes a primary purpose. Enrichment takes three forms: one provides an opportunity for students to follow specialized interests within traditional academic areas, such as a study of the American novel in the field of English; a second permits students to take work in areas not as commonly offered, particularly in small high schools; and the third provides the opportunity for lower division college work to be taken by the superior student while he is still in high school.

Private Correspondence Schools

The private institutions, as a rule, operate within the areas of management and technical training. A given institution may specialize in one field, such as radio, television, and electronics, or it may offer a wide variety of courses available to many industries and involving a variety of technical skills. A few of the private schools also offer programs of high school correspondence study.

A number of private correspondence study schools belong to one or the other of two organizations in which membership is voluntary but selective. These organizations are the Association of Home Study Schools and the National Home Study Council, of which the latter is the older and perhaps better known. These organizations establish codes of ethical practice for member institutions to follow. The National Home Study Council has also established an independent accrediting agency in which private home study schools may seek membership. This agency is recognized by the United States Office of Education as an accrediting body for private home study schools.

Correspondence Study and the Armed Forces

The Armed Forces maintain a number of correspondence study centers, of which the one best known to the general public is the United States Armed Forces Institute. This is a general agency serving all of the military services. In addition, each branch of the service maintains a correspondence study agency the purpose of which is to provide instruction in those skills and understandings of primary concern to the branch maintaining the agency. Actually, the majority of courses offered in residence at the various schools of the Armed Forces are also available through correspondence. This includes even the Command and General Staff College.

Since the mission of USAFI is general, its offerings are broad and provide the enrollee with many opportunities for educational development and technical improvement. Formally stated, the mission of USAFI is to provide common services and materials by which the Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard may supplement, for members of their commands, educational opportunities in subjects normally taught in civilian academic institutions, in order that the individual may render efficient service in his present assignment, increase his capabilities for assuming greater responsibility, and satisfy his intellectual desires.

In addition to those who take courses provided directly by USAFI, approximately ten thousand students are enrolled through USAFI in courses offered by forty-four colleges and universities which have a contract with the government to provide such services at reduced tuition rates.

The National University Extension Association

Any general discussion of correspondence study in the United States should include reference to the National University Extension Association. One of the important divisions of the NUEA is the Division of Correspondence Study. Through this Division, university-operated correspondence centers exchange ideas, coordinate their research efforts, establish informal standards of operation, and strive generally to improve the status of correspondence study. A "Guide to Correspondence Study," published under the direction of the Division, provides a complete listing of the correspondence study offerings of member institutions. Students enrolled for college or high school level correspondence study in colleges and universities receive academic credit for courses completed, and this credit is generally accepted by other institutions. For this reason an organization such as the NUEA Division is essential to insure some degree of uniformity.

The Nature of Correspondence Study

Correspondence study is based upon the principles and procedures found in any teaching-learning situation. Learning must be done by the student himself. However, learning will progress more efficiently if guidance is given to the learning process. In correspondence study, this guidance is provided through written communication between teacher and pupil.

The Syllabus

Initial direction is provided to the student through use of a syllabus or study guide. The syllabus sets forth the objectives of the course and of its subdivisions, provides for over-all organization, directs the students to sources of information, indicates reading to be done and activities to be carried out so that the purposes may be achieved, provides information supplementary to that to be secured from other sources, explains difficult concepts, introduces new ideas, and indicates reports and other evidences of achievement which are to be submitted to the correspondence study department.

In our leading universities, syllabus construction has become a highly developed art, growing out of years of experience and experimentation. The form of the syllabus grows out of knowledge of how people learn. The writer of the syllabus is selected because he is a specialist in the subject to be offered, as well as skilled in its presentation. Usually, too, his work is carefully edited, and often in production the first run is limited in number to permit weak points to be determined by a trial before the syllabus is put into general use. Continuing revision of course syllabi is a part of every good correspondence program.

The Teacher

The second part of the correspondence study process consists of instruction provided in connection with materials submitted to the correspondence study department for evaluation. Evidences of achievement may be in the form of written responses, or may be in the nature of a dress made in a homemaking course or an original composition in a course in music harmony. The responses or project materials are carefully examined and are returned with comments from the instructor. Mistakes are indicated and suggestions made for correction and improvement. Remedial work may be suggested to overcome shortcomings on the part of the student.

For students seeking academic credit, periodic examinations taken under supervision are required, and successful completion of a final examination is prerequisite to the issuance of credit.

Administration

The growth of the correspondence study movement has caused a large number of colleges and universities to establish departments of correspondence study, usually within the framework of the general extension division. Growth in the programs and in the importance of correspondence study is bringing about a change in the administration of this activity—a change reflecting the increased specialization necessary for the administration of correspondence study. Research has also been brought to bear on many of the administrative and instructional problems in teaching by correspondence. Firm professional foundations have been laid for correspondence programs sponsored by universities in the United States as these programs advance in new directions.

Chapter II

CORRESPONDENCE STUDY AND INDIVIDUAL NEEDS

Perhaps no tenet of education is more widely held or more frequently expressed than that education must be centered in the individual. While much emphasis is placed today on providing education adjusted to the individual, this concern is not new. It arose as a result of three developments in American education, each of which imposed its demands for individual adjustments. These will be discussed in turn.

Individualization within Groups

A concern for providing education adjusted to the needs of the individual learner first appeared when education of people in classes began to replace individual instruction. This concern received added impetus when mass education became socially essential. It became important to insure that the individual not be lost in the group and that the educational tasks required of him be adjusted to his mental speed and capacity.

From the beginning educators were aware of this problem and concerned with its solution. A mere listing of some of the best known attempts at solution will indicate their number and variety. The list includes the Lancaster Plan, the Dalton Plan, the Winnetka Technique, the Contract Plan, two-track plans and three-track plans, semi-annual promotions, differentiated curricula, ungraded classes, homogenous grouping, sub-grouping within classes, special classes and differentiated assignments. Although each of these administrative plans designed to counteract the effects of mass education was launched with some fanfare, and has been the subject of endless written and oral discussion, only the last half dozen are at all widely employed today.

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Individualization of Subject Matter Content

Concern for individualization took another form when the secondary school ceased to serve the single purpose of preparation for college and became a multi-purpose institution, devoted to meeting the needs of a heterogeneous school population, with a tremendous diversity of human interests. The solution attempted was to make education available to all young people by increasing the number of schools. The process resulted in the establishment of a large number of schools with small enrollments. As the number of schools increased, enrollments correspondingly declined, subject offerings became narrower and narrower, and the opportunity for meeting varied student needs became less and less. Much of the value inherent in the comprehensive school concept was nullified. The problem was how to retain the advantages of attendance in a school reasonably close to home and at the same time secure the benefits of a program broad enough to meet the varied requirements of all the students enrolled. The variety of needs among 1,000 pupils drawn from 20 high schools with an enrollment of 50 students each is as great as that found among 1,000 students drawn from a single large high school, but the local opportunities for meeting these needs are considerably less.

Attempts were made to resolve this problem also. Where possible, curricular offerings were expanded and electives added to the program. Alternation of subjects, in which related subjects were offered in alternate years, became common. Combination of classes, in which two or more classes met with the same teacher during the same class period, and shared services, involving the use of an itinerant teacher in two or more schools, were other devices employed. In some cases, school staffs were increased to the point where the teacher-pupil ratio was uneconomically low in an attempt to increase the number and variety of classroom offerings.

Individualization in Continuing Education

The need for individualization of instruction became manifest in a third way when the increasing complexity of life in a highly organized technological society made continuing education throughout life a necessity for large numbers of people. No longer can one secure "an education"; no longer can education at any time be regarded as complete. But neither can one go to school all of his life. How, then, can education be continued, and particularly how can it be continued in light of the great diversity of patterns of living among the post-school population?

Here, again, we find that attempts have been made to solve the problem, recognizing that those involved will be unable to devote full time to study or to attend classes during ordinary school hours. Among the devices used have been short courses and institutes; classes offered at off-hours such as evening classes, late afternoon classes, Saturday morning classes, and early morning television classes; and off-campus classes which carry institutional programs to outlying communities.

Correspondence Study and Individualization

Two things are striking about each of the three kinds of solutions for problems of individualization mentioned above. One is that each procedure is an attempt to resolve but one phase of the threefold problem and leaves the others untouched. Each plan is concerned either with individualizing through adjustment to the differing abilities of individuals in the group, with individualizing through making available a wider variety of subject offerings to meet individual needs and interests, or with individualizing through adjustment in time or place where instruction is offered, but not with all three.

The second is that each plan is a modification of classroom procedures, and thus any limiting factors inherent in this type of instruction are retained. Among such limiting factors are the fact that in any attempt to individualize within the classroom context the student remains a member of a group, and a comparison of his achievement with that of others becomes inevitable. Furthermore, the teacher is limited in the amount of time it is possible to devote to one student. Attempts to expand subject offerings in small schools by adding classes will be limited by the fact that classes will quickly become uneconomically small. Attempts to provide continuing education through scheduling classes at odd hours and at off-campus locations are limited by the number of people with similar needs who can be brought together at one place and at one time.

It is apparent that what is needed is an educational device which is sufficiently flexible to provide simultaneously for individualization in terms of student ability, variety of course offerings, and adjustment to time and place of study. This correspondence study can do. It can be adjusted to any level of ability or background, can present a practically unlimited variety of subject matter, and permits study at any hour or at any place. In addition, it can operate at any educational level from elementary school to graduate college, can be school-related or independent of institutional education, can be completed quickly or extended over a period of time, and can be used alone or in groups of any size. No other educational procedure yet devised begins to approach this degree of flexibility.

Correspondence study has already made a contribution toward making instruction available in a wide variety of subjects, and at almost any time or place. The new direction, which correspondence study can take and is taking, is toward the development of instructional materials flexible enough to provide for the varied interests and needs of people with different degrees of background and ability. With some notable exceptions, at present, a correspondence course in American history (or any other subject) at a given level is likely to be based on the assumption that every enrollee has the same background and the same degree of competence in learning. There are, however, indications that a new trend toward individualization of instruction is developing.

Correspondence Study and the Gifted Student

One evidence is in the area of education for the gifted. Correspondence courses specially designed for students of high ability are beginning to appear. These courses have two distinguishing characteristics. One is that they are considerably more flexible in terms of pupil choices. Thus, pupils are exposed to a wider variety of subject matter, are presented with more challenging tasks, and are expected to exercise more mature judgment in analysis. At the same time, they have more freedom in exercising options in determining the areas of interest they want to explore, although usually a basic minimum content is expected to be covered as a part of the total process.

Some evidence regarding the extent of this movement is available. In 1957 a questionnaire concerning the education of gifted children by means of correspondence study was submitted by Sylvia Haight and Charles Wedemeyer to institutions which were members of the National University Extension Association. They found, among other things, that 13 institutions said they used correspondence study for the instruction of gifted students, and the 13 institutions indicated a gifted enrollment of 81 students representing grades 8 to 16. However, only 4 institutions stated that gifted students were taught differently from other correspondence students, only 5 said they had a special program for these students, and only 2 said that they had prepared special courses. Nevertheless, there is indication that a real start has been made.

Advanced Standing.—Programs of correspondence study for the gifted leading to admission to college or university with advanced standing are now found in a number of institutions, including the University of Wisconsin, the University of Minnesota, the University of Michigan, the University of Nebraska, the Oregon State System of Higher Education, Brigham Young University, the University of Kansas, Kansas State University, and the University of California. In these programs, selected students, while still in high school, take college level courses, and upon successful completion present the credits so earned for advanced standing when they enter college or university. The pattern in most institutions is reasonably similar.

Enrichment.—Not so uniform, however, are the programs for the gifted which attempt to provide for enrichment. Here the attempt is not to present advanced subject matter to students at a level lower than that at which the subject matter is usually offered. Instead, the effort is made to broaden and deepen the experiences provided to students. The purpose is not for the student to advance more rapidly but to gather more along the way.

Concerning this procedure Mrs. Sylvia Haight, in a report on teaching gifted children presented at the Fifth International Conference of the International Council on Correspondence Education in 1957, had the following to say:

> Regardless of the method of developing courses for mentally superior students, the course should suggest sources of exploration beyond the obvious; pose stimulating, thought-provoking questions found to cause evaluative thinking; encourage practice of initiative; develop the ability to analyze, evaluate, and weigh evidence before arriving at a general conclusion; and equip the student with the skills necessary for the effective presentation of his ideas.

In the same report Mrs. Haight describes an experiment in teaching gifted students which was carried on in Montana:

> The third method, that of writing individually tailored assignments for superior high school students after ascertaining their in-

terests, was tried in a small way this year at the Montana Correspondence School. This school limited the enrollment in a course in directed reading to two students, who were selected as outstanding by their high school principals. One, a junior girl of seventeen, was interested chiefly in music and journalism. The other, a fourteen-year-old freshman boy was interested in electronics and sports. Writing individual assignments for two students of such diverse interests proved to be a challenging, diverting, and highly rewarding task.

It was mutually agreed that each student should read at least four books in his chosen field and report on them informally; clip a significant item from a newspaper or current magazine each week and comment on it; write one or more themes; work pretty independently on an approved project; and do whatever exercises or other assignments were given him.

Special assignments included getting acquainted with the card catalog, Reader's Guide, the Dewey decimal classification system, shelf arrangement in his own library, bibliographies, the dictionary, graphs, and charts; and in the realm of writing, taking notes, making requests approved by his principal for free materials, spotting and using transitions; compiling an annotated bibliography in an accepted form, and supporting his observations and conclusions by use of quotations and footnotes. For his book report on Albert Einstein, the science student received, among other directions, the following suggestions:

a. As you read, note examples of Einstein's scientific methods of work and thinking. Come to a conclusion about them and substantiate your opinions by several direct quotations, and by your own brief account of one or more incidents that confirm your opinion. [Directions for using quotations followed, but are omitted here.]

b Also note characteristics that Einstein had, or that the reading implies are essential to a scientist. Substantiate as you did in (a).

c. If there is anything you want to remember about Einstein, or about this book, make your notes. You might want a written biographical sketch, or certain dates, or some incidents. This part is to be whatever you want it to be, and it can be omitted if you wish.

The University of Minnesota reports that it has operated an informal program for enrichment purposes for some time. The University of Nebraska has also begun work in this area. Four specially prepared courses, two in English and two in American history, have been developed for use with gifted children. Trial use on a limited scale has been encouraging.

The role of correspondence study in providing for the needs of the gifted may well be summed up in the following statement taken from an address by Charles Wedemeyer, delivered at the International Conference referred to above.

Correspondence study cannot, of course, meet all the needs of the superior child. There are needs this child has for social, group, and leadership experiences that correspondence study cannot provide. But correspondence study can meet—and meet very adequately—his need to be interested, challenged, stimulated by his schoolwork and the opportunity for learning; his need for an individualized method of learning readily adapted to the questioning mind, the darting insights, the large span of interest, the love of delving deeply, the respectful regard of difficult and demanding tasks; his need for a method that permits him to work rapidly, or to dally in fascination on some obscure or intriguing point; his need for a method that gives him the independence he enjoys, yet provides guidance of a personal and intimate kind; his need for a method that enlists the student as a planner of the course with the instructor, yet that trains him well in the skills of reading, writing, observing, studying, analyzing, reporting.

These are the things that correspondence study can and does do for any competent and motivated student; these are the things in which, we have all found, the superior student glories and excels.

Correspondence Study and the Low Achiever

Individualization of instruction through the preparation of special correspondence study materials designed for use with special groups is not confined to the area of the gifted. Equally needed is the preparation of courses especially designed for low achievers. There are students who learn slowly, but who, given time, can master the content of an ordinary course. These people can profit from regular correspondence study taken somewhat more slowly than normal. But there are other students who cannot master much of the content presented in regular courses. For this group, special materials emphasizing only the fundamentals, making considerable use of drill, and presenting but limited amounts of material at one time, are needed. A few such courses, usually referred to as remedial, are now available especially in the areas of language usage and arithmetic, but much greater development in this field is called for.

Correspondence Study and Varied Adult Interests

Individualization through the use of specially designed correspondence courses need not be confined to variations in ability. Equally important is the matter of adjustment to widely varied interests. Many adults are looking for technical, professional, or cultural learning opportunities that can be carried on independently and at the student's own speed. Credit is not important to these people. What is important is that the courses be interesting, challenging, and sufficiently varied to provide for a diversity of needs and interests. At an NUEA conference in 1959, Howard C. Spencer, a retired executive, offered some thoughts about the use of correspondence study in meeting, as he called it, the "Challenge of the Mature Mind." Some excerpts from his address follow:

> It has been suggested that there are today a widely dispersed but appreciable number of mature men and women who with different degrees of consciousness are looking for a way to devote a part of their leisure to the satisfaction of various types of intellectual curiosity and that they constitute a challenge to your institutions which in some respects might be most effectively met through the use of the correspondence method.
>
> Some thoughtful observers are now fearful that the world is increasing its techniques for producing destructive forces faster than it is increasing its store of wisdom and good will needed for their prudent control. They are calling for a wider diffusion of liberal adult education in democratic societies as one means of helping to reduce this imbalance. If such observers are right, and personally I think they are, surely there is justification for trying to uncover ways by which the correspondence method can help in meeting this need. This justification is all the more certain if the correspondence method represents, under the existing educational structure, the only means of providing non-credit courses for mature minds on any truly significant scale. This I believe to be true; and it is the reason for my deep interest in the correspondence field.

Cultural Needs.—A number of universities offer courses especially designed to meet the cultural needs of adults. Among them is the University of Georgia. Its adult series includes Applied Imagination, The Library Trustee, Anticipating Your Later Years, and Personality and Social Adjustment. The program is expanding, and additional courses, especially in the area of liberal education, will be added.

Perhaps best known for its work in this area is the University of Chicago. In a recently prepared statement Leonard Stein and Frank Chidester of that institution have this to say about liberal education by mail:

> Almost all the people who study by mail are adults; indeed, correspondence study is one of the widely-used media of adult education. Despite this fact, mail-study is commonly regarded—by both users and administrators—as either (a) an extension of high school or college undergraduate training, or (b) a means of vocational training. Study-by-mail is what one turns to when he can't attend a regular high school, or when he wants a better job.
>
> Following World War II . . . Chicago Home-Study began consciously to develop a correspondence curriculum FOR ADULTS, emphasizing liberal education.
>
> In terms of curriculum development, Chicago Home-Study has followed no rigid doctrines; rather, a consistent effort has been made to find an intellectually respectable compromise between (a) interests of the clients served, and (b) the University's conception of what sub-

jects can most usefully serve adults. The result has been a variety of short courses designed for mature people, in literature, the visual arts, philosophy, semantics, world affairs, and similar subjects; in addition, certain existing residence courses in Home-Study form have proved to be highly useful for the liberal education of adults (e.g., the undergraduate sequence in English composition).

Technical Education.—Paralleling the need for courses in liberal education is the need for courses of a technical or professional nature. Adults have many opportunities for casual and incidental learning, and even, through conferences, for learning on a somewhat more extensive basis. But correspondence study provides about the only opportunity for most adults to participate in sustained learning on an organized basis. This role of correspondence study assumes new importance in an age of rapid technological advancement when people in technical fields must work constantly to keep abreast of new developments.

A number of universities have developed extensive programs in this area. The University of Minnesota, for example, provides courses in nearly all of the engineering specialties, including mechanical, electrical, industrial, civil, and aeronautical engineering, as well as courses in mathematics and mechanics that are required in most of the programs within the Institute of Technology.

Leonard Stein writes as follows concerning the "technical" offerings at Chicago:

> Principles of Pharmacology (Pharmacology 202) may be taken as an example of a technical course offered at the University of Chicago. It is offered primarily for investigators and laboratory workers in academic and industrial situations in medical sciences and associated fields, who have had no previous formal training in pharmacology. Regular revisions with new findings keep the extensive syllabus up to date. Prerequisites are general biology and elementary organic chemistry. Biochemistry is desirable but not absolutely necessary. This course has reached 30 to 50 people a year, all but a few of them research workers in commercial pharmaceutical laboratories. Fifteen of the first sixty registrants were Ph.D.'s in chemistry; the median educational level for the whole sixty was a Master's degree.
>
> Also at the University of Chicago, a variety of mathematics courses, from freshman to graduate level, have reached an interesting and unusual group of adults. The beginning Statistics course is illustrative. Its clientele (50 to 60 a year) is purely adult and includes the most diverse occupations—research workers in physical, biological, and health sciences, engineers of all varieties, technicians, research and laboratory assistants, patent attorneys, meteorologists, accountants, operational researchers, physicians, computer program-

> mers, teachers, business and industrial managers at several levels —all people who need more mathematics or statistics to keep up with their developing jobs.

Kansas State University is developing a program of non-credit courses in cooperation with the Kansas Cooperative Council. The first two, Accounting for Cooperative Enterprise, and Accounting and Management Problems, are now active.

A very interesting program offered by the University of North Carolina for dental assistants is described in a release from that institution.

> National and international recognition attest to the evident success of the correspondence course for dental assistants offered by the Universitv of North Carolina School of Dentistry through the University Extension Division. Since its first enrollment in February, 1954, the course has achieved some prominence in dental circles. Its tremendous popularity (students have enrolled from 43 states and Puerto Rico) may be attributed in part to the fact that the course, which was prepared by Dean John C. Brauer of the University of North Carolina Dental School and 12 members of the Dental faculty, is the only correspondence course approved by the American Dental Association as meeting its educational requirements for taking the National Certification Examination. It is, in essence, an in-service training course with, in many cases, the local dentist providing the fee for his assistant and supervising the study. In at least one instance, the area assistants are holding study classes with local dentists acting as leaders of the discussion. The fact that this is an innovation in the field of dental assisting is mirrored in the words of the president of a state dental assistants association who says, "I can't help but mention your Dr. John Brauer . . . and express my gratitude for all that he and the University have done for dental assisting! "
>
> Further indication of the success of the course came in July, 1958, when it was learned that the 14 girls who had completed the course and had taken the National Certification Examination averaged 90.5 with no failures. In contrast to this, the 11 girls who had taken a one-year resident course elsewhere averaged 73.3 on the examination with one failure and the 20 who had completed a two-year resident course averaged 83.6 with one failure.
>
> Recently, the University of North Carolina learned through Miss Merle Andrews, Chairman of the Clinics and Exhibits Committee of the American Dental Assistants Association, that dentists from Mexico, Japan, Switzerland, and England voiced interest in and approval of this dental assistants course at the American Dental Assistants Association meeting in Dallas, Texas. Inquiries were made concerning possible translations into Spanish and other languages. Since its beginning in 1954, approximately 450 students have enrolled in the correspondence course.

Another example of the use of correspondence study for a particular purpose is reported by Norrine Tempest, Home Study Supervisor at the

University of Utah.

> The University of Utah is using correspondence study in connection with our educational travel. For instance, Dr. C. Gregory Crompton wrote a course in History 164, The Mexican Nation, to precede or accompany his Mexican tour several years ago. Similarly, Dr. William Fowler produced Music 100, Dr. Jacob Geerling, History 102 (Mediterranean Civilization), Dr. Walter Hahn, Education 147 (European Education), Dr. H. Bowman Hawkes, Geography 170 (Geography of Europe), and Dr. George Dibble, Art 100 (Survey of Art History) for various European tours over the past several years. Tour members desiring credit are urged to enroll and complete these courses in advance of their tours, so that they will get more out of their travel. Then, if they want additional credit in specialized projects, they may take en route courses as well.

Correspondence Study and Conference and Institute Programs

One other trend in this area of special courses to serve special purposes which shows promise of considerable future development is the integration of correspondence study and conferences to form a complete program which usually begins with a conference of long or short duration. The conference serves to highlight the area to be studied, to bring problems into focus, to acquaint enrollees with new developments, and to provide a high degree of motivation. However, a conference (unless it is so extended that it actually becomes a short course) does not provide the amount of time needed for detailed, intensive study.

Enrollees in this type of program follow up the conference by use of correspondence study procedures. Specially prepared courses direct the interim learning until the next conference which may come within a month or two or may not come until a year has expired. The second conference is again followed by correspondence study, and this sequence continues until a predetermined pattern is completed.

This is a procedure holding great promise for the future. It combines all of the advantages of the conference or institute procedure with the advantages of correspondence study, and each lends strength to the other. Some institutions have been employing this procedure with success for some time. The University of California has been cooperating with United Air Lines in a program of this type involving training of executives. Also, the Oregon State System of Higher Education is working with the National Forest Service, Oregon-Washington Division, in planning a course in Human and Public Relations to be based on the correspondence study conference procedure. The University of Wisconsin has articulated certain Engineering Institutes with follow-up correspondence study for depth learning and is currently developing programs in management and in liberal education.

With such new developments as these, correspondence study will continue to increase its important role in providing education adjusted in scope, content, and time to the individual learner.

Chapter III

THE SELF-MOTIVATING LEARNER

Those who work with adults, whatever the method of learning involved, are often struck by the hunger for learning which many adults display. The self-motivating adult is somehow able to energize himself to "do something about" this hunger, and in the process he becomes "self-educating." Whether, as Professor Cyril Houle points out, he is goal oriented (perceiving a need for more or continuing education because of an outside goal), activity oriented (enjoying study activities for social reasons apart from what is learned), or learning oriented (satisfying deep curiosities and desires to know in an intellectual and discriminating way), the self-motivating or self-educating adult finds out about learning opportunities, selects that which appears to suit his interests and needs, and commits himself to a course or program of learning. In spite of the demands of his career, his family, his need for recreation, he is able to budget his time and energies sufficiently well to carry out the educational program successfully. Adults less well motivated fumble and falter at various places in this process, and frequently give up in confusion and frustration.

Education for the Self-Motivating Learner

"Lifelong learning" is in a very real sense one of the strongest requirements that modern society has placed on the individual. Some adult educators now wonder whether it is desirable or necessary to carry into adult teaching the methods and devices that were developed primarily for the lower schools with immature learners. Adults who want to learn (without reference to credits or degrees) have a more "pure" learning motive. They have generally well defined goals in mind and are seeking ways of attaining these goals. Such persons are both self-motivated and self-motivating. Not all adults are this mature, to be sure. Yet among adults there is likely to be a larger number of such persons than among children. It is important, therefore, for economic as well as educational and social reasons to develop educational opportunities for adults which are rooted in the self-motivating powers which many adults possess.

"For centuries," says Paul Bergevin, "we have been exposed to a system of education that has often tended to ignore the creative nature of the learner. Too often the teacher prescribes the learning needs for adult learners, without giving them the opportunity to recognize these needs."[1] The creative process of learning is truly individual, and is probably best set free in methods of teaching which offer the opportunity of individualized instruction. Correspondence study is one method of instruction which is, as this volume will try to make clear, individually oriented, and which requires self-motivated learning.

Correspondence Study and Self-Discipline

Motivation will stimulate the individual to engage in activities which presumably will lead to the attainment of goals important to him. But a high degree of self-discipline is also necessary if the individual is to persist in these activities when the goal pursued is not immediately attainable. Habits of self-discipline, though, do not come naturally; they must be acquired.

An important contribution of correspondence study as a method is its value in this connection. Correspondence study is often referred to as a "hard" method by which to learn. And, in the sense that it makes certain demands on the student, it is hard. In correspondence study, the student is, to a degree, "on his own." He sets his own deadlines, he makes his own decisions, he arrives at his conclusions independently, he learns by doing. He learns to organize, to be systematic, to follow directions, to apply his knowledge to problem situations, and to express himself logically and in an orderly way.

It is true that not all correspondence students develop these skills equally, and it is also true that some fall by the wayside because they cannot or will not exert the necessary effort. But the rule is absolute that, unless the correspondence student measures up to these demands in some degree, he cannot possibly be successful; and it therefore fol-

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1. Paul Bergevin, "Telling Versus Teaching," Community Teamwork, XI, No. 1 (November, 1958).

lows that one who completes a correspondence study course in a satisfactory way has made some gain in developing the qualities of self-reliance, resourcefulness, initiative, persistence, concentration, and thoroughness, as well as in the development of the skills of logical organization, clear presentation, and intelligent self-expression.

Slowly these values are coming to be recognized. In Nebraska, where supervised correspondence study has been used in the secondary schools for some time, a few high school administrators are requiring that every student take at least one subject by correspondence during his high school career, not only to broaden his experience by study in areas not open to him locally, but also because of the disciplinary values involved.

At a meeting of school administrators at the University of Nebraska, called to discuss the television-correspondence study project in operation there, the opinion was expressed many times that the correspondence study experience in which pupils were involved was the best possible kind of preparation for college, principally because of its encouragement of the habits of independent study.

Correspondence study is also used at the University of Nebraska by the Office of Student Affairs as a means of rehabilitating students dropped for scholastic reasons. A student whose grade average falls below acceptable standards, but who otherwise shows promise, may be allowed to register for correspondence study and, upon the successful completion of the course or courses stipulated, be readmitted to the University. It is felt that a student who demonstrates the degree of self-discipline required by correspondence study is a good risk to acquit himself adequately in the future. A high percentage of those who gain readmittance under this practice are successful in their future University programs.

Elizabeth Powell at the University of Georgia reports a similar use of correspondence study. F. Lloyd Hansen comments as follows about the program at the University of Minnesota:

> In nearly all instances, the scholastic committees within the various colleges have used correspondence study as a means of determining the academic sincerity of a student with a deficiency or other scholastic problem. In some instances, the Office of Admissions and Records and the colleges have used correspondence study to determine the ability of a borderline applicant. All of these cases are, of course, considered on an individual basis, and successful correspond-

ence accomplishment with its demands for self-discipline, attention to detail, and ability to organize and express ideas through the written word, has been the criterion for entrance or re-entrance to resident study.

Counseling for the Self-Motivating Learner

It has long been recognized that counseling is an essential in modern schools to achieve a program of studies adapted to the student's unique nature and needs. In the education of adults, however, counseling has been conspicuous by its almost total unavailability to those who most need it. There is, then, a great need for the professional training of counselors who are specialists in adult psychology, and who are capable of counseling adults regarding learning opportunities for both short and long term goals.

The Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults has initiated a project for the development of an Adult Interest Inventory. This instrument will be used by adult counselors in University Extension programs to gain a better understanding of the needs and interests of adults before they are admitted to particular courses or sequences of courses. Several universities will participate with the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults in developing and testing the Inventory before it is placed in general use. The Inventory will be used with correspondence students. Improved counseling of adults is essential if their lifelong learning tasks are to be accomplished with a sense of fulfillment, and if the creative learning powers of self-motivating adults are to be set free.

It will be interesting to observe whether young adults—say ten years from now—are better able to carry on more independent programs of study because of the changes taking place now in high school and college teaching methods. Youth who study in a school program that encourages the development of greater independence in learning may well carry on adult learning with greater facility than most adults do today, particularly if adult counseling of a professional kind has developed to aid them.

The adult's hunger and need to know will, in the years ahead, be more sharply recognized than at present. Educational opportunity and counseling will have to be broadly available if the needs of adults and of our society in general are to be met. There would seem to be no way of providing broad opportunities for adults, whether technical, professional, vocational, or cultural, unless the university-sponsored programs of correspondence study are not only continued but greatly strengthened and improved.

Chapter IV

THE EDUCATION OF INDIVIDUALS IN A GROUP

While correspondence study has unique advantages for the education of the individual, its tutorial characteristics seem, almost by definition, to exclude the method from use in group learning situations. Correspondence instruction, however, has such flexibility that groups of individuals have successfully been taught under various modifications of the basic correspondence method.

The advantages of group study are several: economy (it doesn't cost very much more to teach five, or ten, or twenty, than it does to teach one); discussion among all the members of the group, in which each member ventures his opinions, reactions, states his ideas, compares, criticizes and learns from the thinking and experience of others as well as from himself and the group leader; motivation from the presence, interest, and activity of others; immediate verbal practice in presenting, criticizing, evaluating, summarizing, and otherwise expressing himself. In addition, the gregarious nature of most people, heightened in this age by fresh compulsions for "togetherness" and "groupy" experiences, has provided a psychological basis for group learning.

"In their emphasis on group activity the schools reflect the culture of which they are a part," says Paul Woodring, editor of *Saturday Review*'s "Education in America."[1] And Martin Ten Hoor, in *Education for Privacy*,[2] points out that too great dependence upon the group results in "the demoralization of the individual as a private person." Group-oriented schools and learning activities may to some extent negate the aim of individual self-achievement and self-fulfillment which has been traditional in American education. Group learning activity, it seems clear, which is not truly aimed at energizing the individual in self-development may become a mask for learners who are timid, uncertain, lazy, or antagonistic to learning.

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[1] *Saturday Review*, September 17, 1960, p. 77.

[2] Published by the University of Alabama Press, 1960.

When correspondence study is used in the small group, it retains its orientation to the individual, and hence effectively combines the advantages of group study with those of individual learning. Using correspondence study to instruct individuals in a group (the method is called group correspondence study,[3] or simply group study) may seem paradoxical at first glance. However, the history of correspondence study shows that the group study method has been used effectively, though intermittently, in a variety of group learning situations where there was a desire to combine the advantages of discussion and learning from others with the advantages of guided self-study. When this "marriage" of group and individual learning techniques is well accomplished, the result may be the achievement of a highly superior form of learning.

Rationale for Group Correspondence Study

The informal group, or the more formal class, is composed of individuals. Varying amounts of individual study and preparation are brought to all group and class learning situations. Skilled and experienced teachers point out that the success of group and class learning situations is often dependent upon the previous preparation of the individual members, as well as upon what is taught and the interaction of the members.

The teacher of the class or the leader of the group is an important factor in the success of the members in learning. In a society where there is an abundant supply of well qualified teachers and leaders, and abundant funds for providing teaching and leadership, problems of group and class learning will perhaps be relatively few. However, if money and qualified personnel are not available in adequate amounts for supplying all who need teachers and leaders, then methods must be found which provide essential learning opportunities, yet are not tied solely to the availability of teachers and leaders (in short supply for the foreseeable future), and which are economically feasible.

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[3] The word 'group' is usually used to describe the individuals gathered together for learning by the correspondence method, rather than 'class.' 'Class,' as used in educational parlance, ordinarily connotes (a) that the individuals in the class are somewhat similar in characteristics, and (b) that there is a teacher physically present. 'Group' simply denotes an assemblage of persons.

The rationale for the group correspondence method has been stated as follows:

> The group study method has great flexibility. It can be a fairly formal method, involving periodic instruction by a visiting teacher in addition to correspondence work, or it can be quite informal, serving a group, only one of whose members is a registered student.
>
> The group study method is designed for small groups of from 6-15 persons. Such groups usually cannot be served by regular classes.
>
> In addition to its economy, the group study method has these other advantages:
>
> 1. It is a satisfactory method of providing guidance and instruction to both formal and informal groups.
> 2. It combines discussion and group experiences as well as opportunities for individual learning.
> 3. It develops leadership abilities in participants.
> 4. It places emphasis on individual preparation and study as prelude to group experience and discussion.
> 5. It takes pressure off of campus instructors and leads to development of off-campus group leaders who are competent to instruct within the group study framework, while working from a correspondence study guide.[4]

Experiments have shown that this method may be an answer—for mature learners—to the impasse that some observers think has now been reached in adult education. Group learning may also offer special implications for college level instruction and even for secondary level instruction.

Development of the Group Study Method

The use of correspondence study in group learning situations is not new. What is new is a heightened awareness of its potential. A rash of experiments has broken out, appraisal of which is encouraging correspondence institutions to place more emphasis on group study.

In England, study groups using correspondence course outlines have been in existence for many years as part of the Workers Education Association program. In Denmark, workers study groups have followed a similar approach, and in 1956-57 Danish officials reported 30,000 such groups in existence. In Australia the group correspondence method has been a special project of the University of Sydney, though not confined to this institution. Commonly, the group correspondence courses offered by this institution require ten meetings by the adult concerned. A set of notes is provided each member for each meeting, along with other materials as needed—recordings, art prints, etc. Visiting instructors from the University make the rounds to groups on a fairly regular basis. Subjects taught by this method include music, art, philosophy, and the range of the humanities. The written responses of the group keep the instructor informed as to the group's progress. An observer recently reported that the Australian group correspondence method at its best was "the best thing he had seen in adult education anywhere." Quality varies, however, according to local leadership and the adequacy of guidance given to the program by the University.

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[4] Charles A. Wedemeyer, "Meeting the Educational Needs of Individuals in a Group," Extension Insights (University of Wisconsin Extension Division, September, 1957), p. 4.

Allan Des Champs of the University of Alberta (Edmonton, Alberta, Canada) reports two interesting group correspondence courses in municipal administration and municipal assessment. Students pay only about one-fourth of the cost of these courses, the remainder being underwritten by the government. The small groups meet regularly with the course instructors every two months at centers throughout the province. Between meetings the learning is carried on by correspondence. Results have been excellent, according to Des Champs. About 200 students per year enroll in the groups, and about 160 students complete successfully.

In the United States, the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle, established by John Vincent in 1878, carried on its work in local "circles" by the method of correspondence study. Whether the Chautauqua "circle" method, seemingly combining correspondence study and group discussion, was a self-conscious and sophisticated education method, or was merely a fortuitous device is not known. As a consciously-designed educational program, group correspondence study appeared in the United States in the late 1920's. F. Lloyd Hansen describes the program:[5]

> As early as 1928 there is evidence that the Correspondence Study Department established a group study plan. Under this arrangement any group or club could register for a correspondence course

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[5] F. Lloyd Hansen, "The University of Minnesota Correspondence Study Department," General Extension Division Bulletin (University of Minnesota, 1957), p. 10.

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> and co-operatively complete assignments. One member of the group acted as secretary or correspondent, and this person actually enrolled for the course. In most instances the group or club contributed to the registration fee. The group had complete flexibility in conducting its co-operative study plan, and working the assignments to be submitted through the secretary or correspondent. The returned lesson, with the instructor's comments, was the basis for further group discussion prior to the work on the next assignment. This plan was developed to extend the usefulness of correspondence courses and to combine the advantages of group and individual study.
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> During the depression years of the 1930's, this method was modified to care for an emergency need—the need to provide aid to high school graduates who were unable to attend college away from their home town because of depressed economic conditions. In this plan any high school system might offer freshman college courses in its own locality, using the University's correspondence courses as a basis for the work. The school secured special teachers to supervise the home study room. Students were required to spend five days each week in study, and worked individually under the supervision of the room supervisor in preparation of the examinations to be given by the University and proctored by the Correspondence Study Department. Grades and credits were assigned by the correspondence faculty. The secretary or correspondent idea was retained, and lessons were completed on a co-operative basis. But each student kept notes and reports in preparation for the examination to establish individual credit.

Other institutions report the offering of group correspondence study courses and programs during the same period. The University of Indiana has offered courses for group study since the thirties.

Today the group study method is offered in almost every section of the United States by NUEA institutions. The University of California, the University of North Carolina, the Oregon System of Higher Education, the University of Chicago, the University of Georgia, the University of Wisconsin, Pennsylvania State University, and the University of Illinois (in addition to institutions mentioned earlier) have provided variations on the basic concept of group study. The University of Utah has recently indicated an interest in group study and an intent to make courses available.

Variations in the Group Study Method

This spread of experimentation with group study has introduced numerous modifications to the basic method described earlier by Hansen. There are now three "plans" which characterize group study offerings by correspondence study.

1. Informal Group Study. With this plan, the group itself organizes

and conducts its own sessions. Members may submit individual assignments, or one set of assignments may be submitted for the entire group by a secretary or recorder. The responsibility for the writing of the assignments for the group may be rotated among the members. Where one set of assignments is sent in for all members, it is prepared after full group discussion. When the assignments are returned, the group discusses the corrections, additions, suggestions, and comments of the instructor. Size of group recommended: 6-12.

2. Informal Group Study with Visits by the Instructor. This plan is similar to that described above, except that the instructor who reads the assignments also meets with the group occasionally to guide its thinking, motivate further study, and assist the members in achieving the group's objectives. Size of group recommended: 6-12.
3. Directed Group Study. In this plan, the entire course is under the direction of the instructor who acts as a leader and meets with the group at regular intervals throughout the course. Between such meetings the group usually meets by itself for discussion, laboratory, or workshop activities. All members of the group participate in discussion and other activities, but prepare individual assignments. Since each individual in a directed study group submits his own assignments and takes the final examination, credit may be earned. Size of group recommended: 6-12.

The basic small group method described above has remarkable flexibility. Small groups have used the method in studying art, foreign languages, drama direction and production, engineering, mathematics, political science, sociology, creative writing, education, public speaking, advanced chemistry, library science, and other subjects. Almost any course available for individual correspondence study can be adapted to this method. The three plans noted above have been used successfully with a wide range of clientele: with high school students (for credit), with university students (for credit), and with adults (usually on a non-credit basis).

Group Study for Adults

The greatest potential for the small group method is probably in programs for adults, and especially liberal education programs on a non-credit basis. In non-credit courses of this kind the adult student comes close to having "pure" learning motives. He is not concerned with credit or degrees, nor does he wish to have education spoon fed to him in small morsels, previously chewed and digested by a teacher.

Liberal education courses for adults are frequently—especially in rural areas—difficult to organize and carry out. The reason for this difficulty is partly economic. Adults are quite willing to pay instructional costs for training of a vocational or professional kind—education that will presumably bring to the adult increased earnings or other economic advantage. Few feel similarly inclined to pay the instructional costs for other educational experiences. Vocational and adult schools, out of local, state, and federal funds, sometimes offer vocational type courses free or nearly free, but find it difficult to justify liberal education courses on the same basis. Thus the courses which offer economic advantage to the student are often more available, and at a lower cost; and courses which offer no economic advantage to the individual, but aim instead at individual growth and acceptance of responsibility in the home, community, and nation, are often literally "out of reach" economically of those who most need them.

University Extension has wrestled with this problem for some time. It is generally recognized that liberal education courses for adults must be more heavily subsidized, yet how to obtain larger subsidies is indeed a problem. Foundation assistance has been a major factor in spurring increased interest in, and programming for, the liberal education program.

The small group correspondence study method has definite economic advantages for the institution and its adult students. These advantages are:

1. An informal group can form with only one person registered and receiving correspondence instruction for the group. In such instances additional copies of study guides and texts or other materials should be purchased by the group. While only one person is formally registered, the group can participate equally. Costs of one registration (and materials) are divided among all the members.
2. If the group plan with visitation is selected, then all members of the group register. However, the group may send in only one correspondence response for the group as a whole. In occasional visitations (once a month or every four meetings) the instructor meets with the group. The advantage to the small group under this plan is that it can get its needed instruction, whereas as a class it could not because the group is too small to be taught economically in the usual way. The advantage to the institution is twofold: 1) It can offer instruction in this format—even to the small group—without exceeding the subsidy level it must hold to for its offerings. 2) The group correspondence method relieves the instructor of the necessity of being present at every meeting of the group.

Special Problems in the Small Group Method

There are special problems that must be faced in carrying out a group study program successfully. These are not easy to solve, partly because they are foreign to the experience and training of most correspondence study faculty and administrators. Regular correspondence study teaching is an exacting specialty for the faculty member who decides to make it his career, and who works hard to create efficient yet productive methods to unleash the powers of self-disciplined learning in a student miles away. Marvelous as the printed language is for conveying thought and guidance and for evoking disciplined learning behavior in the distant student; and effective as tapes, recordings, films, pictures, graphics and other aids are—the gap of distance between teacher and student is always there, and with it the student's real sense of psychological as well as physical isolation. These conditions have driven correspondence study faculty to concentrate largely on the problems of teaching the individual student and may have precluded them from developing an equal understanding of the group method. Indeed, some distinguished correspondence professors regard the small group method as to some extent a debasement of the correspondence method, and disapprove of it heartily.

Group Leadership

In seeking solutions to the special problems of the small group method, the correspondence study specialist should obtain the active assistance of specialists in the areas of leadership training[6] and group behavior to augment his own special competence in teaching by the correspondence method. The success of the group seems to be closely related to the kind of leadership it has within it. Another problem is the ability of the group to discipline itself for reading, study, and discussion. In directed study groups the regular visits of the instructor apparently accomplish satisfactory levels of group self-discipline and leadership; in the more informal group study formats, there is considerable variation in these factors. There appears to be need for training or orientation sessions for group leaders to improve both leadership and group self-discipline.

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[6] Leadership training: "Formal and informal arrangements for teaching adults the ability to inspire and direct others in group processes and community services. . . ." Carter V. Good, Dictionary of Education (1959), p. 576.

Specially Designed Study Guides

Another problem deserving special study is that of the kind of syllabus or study guide to use in group study programs. Heretofore, group correspondence study courses have chiefly been adapted—and quite adequately in many instances—from regular correspondence study courses. However, there is a need for the development of courses specifically designed for the use of small groups. The University of Wisconsin's courses in library methods, audio-visual instruction, the meaning of art, appreciation of literature and drama direction and production, are successful examples of such correspondence courses. It is particularly important that special study guides (or modifications of existing guides) be developed for the adult, whether he is a student in the group format, or is an individual correspondence student. The adult can use the study guide developed for a university-credit course, but can achieve satisfaction of his goals only with course modification based upon his interests, needs, and motives. A skillful correspondence instructor can adapt a standard guide to an adult, but it would be better to design courses for adults in the beginning, and provide adaptation to individual differences within a suitable and appropriate study guide.

While hundreds of correspondence courses in the liberal education field are offered by University Extensions in the United States, most of them were designed for the university credit student who is aiming at a degree. The adult, whose aims are likely to be quite different, and who may have a far purer learning motive, sometimes resents the credit approach. He is willing and able to bring to his learning a stronger motive, greater maturity and experience; and he wants to be treated as an adult. He particularly dislikes anything that resembles "busy-work," or the mere regurgitation of information, and prefers instead assignments that require the larger application to his life and experience of what he has learned.

A group correspondence course developed by the Wisconsin Idéa Theatre illustrates one successful approach to the study-guide-assignment problem. The Theatre staff was aware of the pressing need of drama directors for instruction and assistance. High school and little theatre drama coaches are often (even unwillingly) catapulted into their coaching roles without any background or experience. As a result many school or community plays are drab and disillusioning affairs, failing entirely in conveying the dramatic experience that was their purpose. In large urban areas theatre specialists can be brought in for effective work with clusters of coaches, players, and crews. In the rural areas, where the need is greatest, the lack of numbers of students available in any one area makes the drama specialist an expensive luxury.

To meet this situation the Idea Theatre developed a group correspondence course in Drama Direction and Production. The drama specialists identified seven major problems faced by the untrained coach, whether in the high school or little theatre. The course was constructed around these problems. Special materials were prepared to fit the teaching situation. Assignments were designed to be practical: no repetition of drama or stage theory, but reports on what the coach was actually doing to apply the principles that he had learned to the specific play. The same instructor who reads the assignments and provides written assistance visits the production twice, once near the beginning, and again just before dress rehearsal. Only the coach is registered in the course, but the instruction and assistance goes, through the coach, to the entire cast and crew.

This kind of course design offers what may be an important principle in the teaching of adults by the small group method: materials, study guide, assignments, and teacher visitations should be designed to accomplish in adult terms the objectives of the group.

The University of Dubuque Theological Seminary has recently launched its first correspondence course for graduate ministers in pastorates, and has designed its course on the principle above. Ministers in service are often unable to travel to summer sessions, or otherwise (apart from reading) participate in intellectually satisfying experiences in pursuing advanced study in theology. The new Dubuque course may be used by ministers individually or in small groups. A difficult and demanding course on theology, the assignments require application of principles learned to the problems of ministers, not mere repetition of theory.

Fielding the Group Study Course

How to "field" a small group study course is also a special problem. Correspondence study courses are generally fielded (that is, students are recruited and registered) from a central office. Universities do not use salesmen for field work as private correspondence schools do. Yet to set up a correspondence study group requires quite different techniques from those used for enrolling individual correspondence students. For initiating correspondence study groups, techniques similar to those used in setting up extension classes are needed, and a field staff is a great help, if not very nearly essential.

But even where a field staff is available it is likely that the field specialist is almost totally unacquainted with correspondence study, since he has had little or no experience with this kind of extension activity. The field specialist must, therefore, be especially trained to field the group correspondence course.

Group Study in the Large University Class

The success of both individual and group correspondence study caused the chairman of a large department in the University of Wisconsin to suggest recently that some modification of the method might serve the needs of university class students, as well as adults. Specifically, his suggestion is that the correspondence group method be used in connection with large lecture classes. The method proposed for tryout is this: The content lecturer would develop, with correspondence specialists, a special study guide for the course. Lectures to the three or four hundred students in the course would be given as usual, and the large group would be broken into the usual small quiz-discussion groups, under the usual instruction. In the small groups, however, the students would assume much greater responsibility for motivated self-learning. The study guide would guide both the students and the instructor. Written assignments weekly (presented in the study guide and capable of modification to individual needs) would provide carefully preplanned learning activities plus a method, now frequently lacking, of regularly assessing student progress and problems. Within such a framework, the student would not be so remote from the professor who had designed the course, since the professor would also scan the assignments turned in. Furthermore, the students would take greater responsibility for self-learning activities (the weekly assignments) that precede the small group discussions. Less than excellent quiz instructor competence, under this plan, might not so adversely affect the quality of learning by the students in the course.

Correspondence study courses are now being used to some extent in regular university classes at some institutions. Examples were noted specifically at the University of Georgia, The University of Utah, and The University of Wisconsin, but in all probability the practice is more widespread. It is natural for the resident professor who has developed a good correspondence course to make use of the study guide and assignments in his regular classes. With a little imagination—and funds for experimentation—a modification of the group correspondence method could be developed that would help our resident colleagues solve one of their most pressing problems—how to keep course quality high in view of the difficulty of finding competent teaching assistants.

Although correspondence study is traditionally an individual method of learning, it can be seen from the foregoing discussions that the method can be readily adapted to the needs of individuals in a group. In this way the motivational and social advantages of learning in a group can be secured, in addition to the long-established values of individual learning by correspondence study.

Chapter V

THE EDUCATION OF INDIVIDUALS VIA THE MASS MEDIA

The appearance of television on a near-national scale in the early 1950's presented a distinct challenge to educators. Remembering, and still smarting from, the earlier failures to make effective use of radio in education, leading educators throughout the country determined to study ways in which television could be pressed into service. When the FCC made available to education a number of television channels on a planned regional basis, there was an immediate response in the development of experimental educational courses for TV. National associations were soon founded to aid educational TV stations to get into operation and sustain programming. It was early apparent that:

1. TV course program development and production is very expensive as compared with other educational media.
2. In urban areas where there is a high concentration of population, educational TV enrollments are high enough to justify the high costs of development and production.
3. In less populated urban areas, TV course enrollments are disappointingly low in view of the total costs. Severely pressed for funds, yet convinced of the importance of developing educational TV, educators dream of statewide educational TV networks reaching enough people so that the high costs of development and production will be justified. If it were possible to get the ETV signal to large numbers of rural and urban people, comparable in total number to those concentrated in the largest U. S. cities, then enrollment possibilities would be more favorable. Opposition to state ETV networks (similar to opposition to state radio networks) has come from many sources—commercial broadcasters, taxpayer groups, political groups, and others. At present only Alabama, Georgia, and Oklahoma have state ETV "networks" (the designation "network" probably implies closer linkage and greater area coverage than is actually true at this time).
4. Institutions presenting courses or educational programs by TV have sometimes seemed to be operating from mixed motives: a sincere desire to experiment with TV as an instructional medium, and a desire to exploit the medium for public relations purposes.

5. Courses or programs offered by TV vary greatly in content, level of instruction, quality, instructional follow-up, and methods of evaluation. It is desirable to differentiate between "educational TV" and "instructional TV"; the latter being the name given to formal systematic courses offered via TV with a definite instructional aim, planned student activities, follow-up, and evaluation.

6. There is considerable difference between closed circuit ETV and open circuit ETV. Closed circuit ETV falls almost entirely in the "instructional" category, and is being used largely to pipe regular instruction into TV classrooms filled by overflow students. Open circuit ETV includes both educational and instructional programming. (In this chapter we are concerned only with open circuit TV.)

ETV and Correspondence Study

In institutions which carried on extra-mural or off-campus instruction through an extension division, educational (especially instructional) TV was increasingly made a responsibility of that arm of university instruction. The heavy costs involved in TV experimentation, however, and the specialized techniques required for production contributed in many cases to the separation of the TV experiments from other on-going extension activities. In many institutions little use was made of extension or adult education personnel generally active in the other methods and media of extension education. Hence, the majority of correspondence study departments had contributed very little to the development of instructional TV by 1956. The Radio-TV Committee of the Correspondence Study Division of NUEA surveyed its fifty-four member institutions in that year and found that only seventeen correspondence study departments were carrying on experimentation in TV instruction.

The group of professional television educators that had come into being to develop and operate educational-instructional-TV tended to see TV as an instructional method. Correspondence educators, however, tended to regard TV as a means of enriching correspondence instruction. The TV specialist, in brief, regarded his medium as a "mass" medium. He was concerned with the production of courses or instructional programs which would reach the largest number of students and which would minimize adaptation to individual needs and follow-up. Response communication from students was at a minimum, often only a final examination.

The correspondence educator, on the other hand, saw TV in the same category as any other visual aid. He, too, was interested in reaching the largest number of students, but he regarded each as an individual, and, consistent with the traditions of correspondence study, planned to follow-up carefully, adapt materials as needed, require full two-way communication, and maintain academic standards at least comparable to those currently maintained in class and correspondence study activities. The correspondence educator adhered to the belief that learning is the product of activities carried on by the learner, and that much of educational TV, while interesting to many, was not enough, by itself, to bring about depth learning. All, however, were agreed on the tremendous potential of the medium if it could be linked effectively with adequate learning activities. The opportunity was present for the development of courses of combined TV and correspondence study that would assure both a high degree of purposeful student learning activity and the fullest kind of enrichment and motivation.

When "Continental Classroom" made its appearance in 1959, the University of California developed a correspondence course to accompany the TV physics broadcasts, and, in 1960, developed a similar course to be used with Continental Classroom's broadcasts on chemistry. Alice Rowbotham (University of California) reports that 218 students enrolled in the first semester Continental Classroom course. In addition to these enrollments, California sold several hundred course syllabi to persons throughout the country who were viewing the course. Now under Learning Resources Institute, Continental Classroom is offering "Modern Algebra" through it's NBC affiliates. A correspondence syllabus is also available for students who wish to study this course for credit at several institutions.

The University of Nebraska's program for small high schools is essentially an experiment to enrich their curricula. Long a leader in providing opportunities through locally supervised correspondence study at the high school level, the University of Nebraska Extension Division acted to enrich these offerings via television. Students in small high schools enrolled in correspondence courses in physics, English, mathematics, art, and other subjects. From the University TV broadcasting station in Lincoln, daily "programs" in these subjects designed as enrichment of the basic courses were beamed to the cooperating schools. Student achievement has been generally comparable, if not somewhat superior, to that of comparable students in regular classes, and comparable to students in regular correspondence courses (without TV). The advantage of TV has been in providing a steady, compelling pacing and motivating effect, with opportunities for enrichment that are beyond the facilities of even the largest schools.

The joint Radio-TV Committee of the Division of Correspondence Study and the Audio-Visual Division of the NUEA, in a report approved by the two Divisions at Salt Lake City, Utah in 1958, proposed a broad test of the effectiveness of such combined methods. The report contains this statement:

> Instruction by television, both closed and open circuit, and by projection of kinescopes and telefilms produced simultaneously with television broadcast, is becoming an accepted medium of instruction.
>
> Historically, the teaching-learning situation has consisted of two-way communication between teacher and learner. Great teachers of all time have emphasized and prized this relationship, and all formal and many informal teaching methods have provided for this feature, albeit in differing degrees. The philosophy, psychology, and methodology of education have similarly been developed around this concept. In all the research done on learning theory since the time of Thorndyke, there have been no experimental studies whose findings question the importance of knowledge-of-results in learning. Rather, studies dealing with instrumental learning, reward learning, or with the general problem of motivation in learning all point to the necessity of the student's being aware of his progress, of his errors, and of ways to correct them.
>
> A mass instructional medium such as television, however, introduces the possibility of teaching entirely without response communication—almost as though the individual's progress and problems in learning do not any longer matter. (Whereas the television instruction is not and cannot be individually-oriented or centered, the correspondence study method can only be that. Hence the historic and professional requirements for a normal teaching-learning situation are in effect achieved when correspondence study is added to television instruction for response communication. Yet at the same time television instruction does not lose its tremendous potential for taking learning opportunities into the homes of vast numbers of learners.)
>
> The classic role of correspondence study is not diminished in this 'marriage' with television. Correspondence study places a heavy responsibility on the student for self-motivation, and self-discipline. The student is not a passive spectator in a learning environment; he is an active participant, must carry on independent reading, study, viewing, search of references, and preparation of assignments.
>
> Learning derives from the activities and experiences of the students—the activities and experiences set by the study guide or the teacher. It is what the student does that produces Learning.

This point of view suggests that the mass media, when used for educational purposes, should be used to heighten and enrich traditional concepts of American education; should maintain the importance or centrality of the individual; should provide for full two-way communication, for adaptation of instruction to the individual, and for follow-up instruction; and should make use of pre-planned learning activities carried on by the student himself for depth learning or mastery as opposed to passive viewing and listening.

Radio and Correspondence Study

Radio, as remarked earlier, has perhaps never been fully exploited as a means of enriching regular instruction. This failure may be related to early efforts, in the 1930's particularly, to make radio a distinct teaching method. There is, in fact, a close parallel with ETV use here. Radio, too, tended to require both separate budgets and technical staffs, removed from educators who otherwise carried out the extra-mural, off-campus instruction of universities. Where this separation occurred, the adequate exploration of radio teaching capabilities by educators may have been hampered.

Current trends in correspondence study now indicate that all of these media—TV, radio, and other audio-visual devices—are being used far more than formerly. At the University of Wisconsin, for example, the use of radio in connection with correspondence study has been for many years only a "sometimes thing." This condition has prevailed despite the fact that educational radio ("state" radio in Wisconsin—a network of eight state-owned stations under a State Radio Council) was conceived by the University's first director of correspondence study, W. L. Lighty. Lighty's foresight and persistence in regard to educational programming, coupled with the technical leadership and inventiveness of members of the University's Department of Physics, resulted in the formation of the justly famed "School of The Air" of the "oldest station in the nation." Lighty, it is clear, had hopes of exploring the use of radio as an enriching and motivating factor in connection with correspondence study and other extension activities. Unfortunately, this hope was never realized, but there are plans presently for studies of the use of radio in connection with correspondence study, particularly for high school students and adults. It is proposed, for example, to schedule time in the "School of The Air" program for several hours a week during high school hours of instruction. High school students carrying courses by correspondence as part of their regular load (about three-fourths of Wisconsin's high schools enroll pupils in correspondence courses) would listen to enrichment materials during their supervised correspondence study period. A period a week could, in this way, be given to such subjects as English, foreign languages, mathematics, science, history, and social studies, and so on. If the enrichment materials are carefully designed to motivate student activity, improve the quality of two-way communication, and pace the learning experiences, a truly effective way will have been found for putting the great potential of radio to work in education. Similar programs beamed at adults will be devised. It is quite possible that radio used in this way—as well as TV, films, and other audio-visual devices—may play a large part in invigorating correspondence study both for individuals and groups.

Arthur Krival, formerly Head of Home Study at Kansas State University, reports the offering of a course combining radio and correspondence study. The course is Music 250, Appreciation of Music, offered for college credit. "By and large," Krival writes, "the course has been a success and will be repeated, after some revision, during the second semester of each academic year."

Telefilms and Correspondence Study

The pacing and motivating effects of telefilms used with correspondence study were clearly identified in the Wisconsin Physics Film Evaluation Project (1957-59). The Wisconsin project was set up under a grant from the Fund for the Advancement of Education to test the effectiveness of the Harvey White-EBF High School Physics Teaching Films. The project tested learning achieved in control and experimental groups, in which only the experimental groups used the White films. Supervised correspondence study groups were included in the experiment. Although the number of students studying physics by correspondence was small (120 students) the results have indicated that the combination of correspondence study with telefilms is a highly effective method of learning. While correspondence students who used the films did not achieve quite as highly as regular correspondence students, the difference in achievement between the two groups was slight. Students who used the films, however, showed a higher completion rate, completed more rapidly, made fewer errors in assignments, and required less of the correspond-

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ence instructor's time in commenting on and evaluating assignments.

From the two-year Physics Film Evaluation Project, educators at Wisconsin derived experience which was put to use in creating another telefilm-correspondence course under a National Defense Education Act grant. This course, Audio-Visual Education, was offered experimentally, in 1959-60, in six states through the cooperation of ten institutions of higher education. The course was designed by a teaching team of seven specialists. It consisted of forty-two film lessons, ten correspondence reports, and two examinations. The course was offered for both graduate and undergraduate credit. Careful follow-up study provided an evaluation of the course during the summer of 1960. Evaluation scales indicated the course was successful, and hence it is being readied for much broader use in 1960-61.

The students in the Audio-Visual/TV/Correspondence study course were teachers in service chiefly in the elementary schools. The student (teacher) evaluations of the course, showing midwest teacher reactions as contrasted with Florida teacher reactions, are tabulated on the following page.[1]

Of particular interest to educators assessing the effectiveness of correspondence study when combined with television are items 2, 4, and 5. Item 2 indicates the high value of the correspondence study guide, which, in addition to opening the vital second channel of communication from student to teacher in 10 reports, coordinated the various learning experiences included in the course.

Item 4 reveals that the great majority of students (teachers) felt that the Audio-Visual/TV/Correspondence Study course was too difficult; that it required too much work. This response was often accompanied by unsolicited statements comparing this course with other TV courses taken, which did not require correspondence "reports." A number of teachers in both the Midwest group and the Florida group disenrolled after the course began because they objected to doing anything but viewing the TV lessons. This reaction is probably an example of the expect-

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[1] "Progress Report (Sept. 1, 1960) Wisconsin Audio-Visual Television Project," Prof. Walter A. Wittich, Coordinator, Department of Education, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

	Midwest	Florida
1. The practical value of the television lessons was:		
Very High or High	95	124
Mediocre	30	19
Low or Very Low	4	2
No Answer	1	2
2. The correspondence study guide was:		
Very Useful or Useful	100	139
Mediocre	11	5
Poor or Very Poor	1	2
No Answer	18	1
3. The value of the television lessons as aids to learning was:		
Very Good or Good	106	132
Mediocre	17	12
Poor or Very Poor	1	2
No Answer	6	1
4. The work load involved in course completion was:		
Too Much	100	100
Reasonable	11	37
Too Little	1	0
No Answer	18	10
5. The AV/TV/CS course, when ranked with typical professional educational courses, was:		
More or Much More Favorable	79	102
Equal	26	30
Less or Much Less Favorable	18	15
No Answer	7	0

N Midwest teachers = 130; N Florida teachers = 147.

ancy of passivity that television teaching sometimes evokes in students, and has been noted elsewhere. It may also be an unintended but nevertheless critical evaluation of much of the teachers' previously experienced TV instruction which did not challenge the teachers with rigorous program learning experiences.

Item 5 records the teachers' judgments that the course was, for the majority, more or much more favorably evaluated than the typical professional educational course. Unsolicited letters from many teachers reinforce the formal evaluations and emphasize the basic importance of the regular correspondence reports and the two-way communication thus opened between teacher and learner.

Items 1 and 3 point up the great power of the television lesson as a practical laboratory tool, and as a prime means of demonstrating the use of audio-visual techniques as aids to learning.[2]

The North Carolina Program

While the above examples are indicative of a growing interest in, and acceptance of, correspondence study tied to mass media, they are only individual courses. It is natural to expect that, if the combined technique has merit in individual courses, the needs of external students will be better met if there are sequences or blocks of courses available. This is precisely the kind of TV-correspondence program that has been developed at the University of North Carolina.

Dwight Rhyne describes the features of the program, which went into effect in 1959-60:

> [The] experimental program [is] designed to determine the feasibility of combining correspondence and television instruction by offering one full academic year of instruction, essentially the freshman year, over a two-calendar year period utilizing the two media. Television instruction would consist of four 30-minute lectures each week for each of the two courses offered during the fall and spring semesters, and four 1-hour lectures each week, including laboratory demonstrations, during the summer terms. Correspondence instruction would consist of the full syllabus presently used in teaching each of these courses through correspondence adapted to the combined program of instruction, or new syllabi of equal scope and intensity prepared especially for the courses offered in the program.

During the two years the North Carolina experiment will run, the following courses will be offered:

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[2] See also the White-Williams Rating scale (below, p. 53) evaluating the educational effectiveness of correspondence study and audio-visual teaching separately and together.

First Year	Second Year
Fall Semester English 1 Mathematics 7	Fall Semester Social Science 1 German 1
Spring Semester English 2 Mathematics 8	Spring Semester Social Science 2 German 2
Summer Term Physics 20	Summer Term Geography 38

Basic Principles for TV/Correspondence Study Courses

It is important to note that the effectiveness of the correspondence method lies in its carefully pre-planned student learning activities, the extensive reading and writing activities (and with TV, radio, or films, the listening and viewing activities), and the individually adjusted follow-up instruction received by the student. In the second year of the Nebraska project mentioned earlier, some students, so impressed by the TV programs, wondered why they had to do the assignments of reading and writing. The plaintive question, "Why can't the TV teacher just tell us what we need to know?" was asked. The universal desire of students for a painless way to achieve excellence was only too plain. Plain also was the fact that where students slipped into a passive role, achievement suffered. The importance of student-centered learning activity was clearly demonstrated. Looking and listening are not enough.[3] Perhaps what we educators need to do is to face bravely the particular strengths or powers that the media can offer to education, and then design courses and methods of teaching that are appropriate to the medium used and that exploit its strengths. It is not enough to design courses, or merely to design methods. Both must be worked out together. Two examples may be pertinent.

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[3] In reading the rough draft of this chapter, Dr. Joseph Palmeri, Professor of French and Italian at the University of Wisconsin, made this comment: "If, in fact, a so-called painless way of learning were to prevail, it could not be assumed that twenty-five years from now people would know how to read (as we now understand the term). Indeed, if science and technology were to advance much more in this field, there would be the distinct possibility of creating a mentality which would demand answers to specific questions by merely dialing certain letters on certain machines—a process of 'learning,' this, which has absolutely nothing to do with education. . . . TV, and movie and radio have a basic weakness which impairs their effectiveness as teaching media. This weakness is really inherent in human beings and therefore cannot be overcome until science and technology succeed in changing us into robots. Learning is based on understanding. While reading, the best of us —no matter how well-intentioned, physically fit and mentally alert—very often fail to grasp the meaning of a passage here and there. It is sometimes necessary to read the same passage, the same chapter, several times to comprehend it. Because they cannot stop . . . movies and radio cannot replace the book or the study guide . . . for real learning."

Suppose we are convinced that the great power of television is to motivate the student, explicate the content, and pace the learning. (To "pace" learning is to set a standard rate for completing learning experiences. In regular correspondence study, the student paces himself since he is encouraged to go at his own rate. When television, radio, or teacher-visitation becomes a part of correspondence learning, the instruction as in a class is "paced.") In designing a correspondence course to be combined with TV, we might then decide that the TV medium will be used only for those three purposes.

The principle of the conservation of energy, in fact, demands that we use television—or correspondence—only for those purposes for which the medium or the method is efficient. This implies that those things that can be obtained more efficiently through some other method or medium will not be offered or conveyed via TV. Do we now place a lecturer before a TV camera and "televise a course"? It would seem to follow that we do not. A competent student (and if he isn't competent he ought not be enrolled via television any more than by any other medium) must be expected and required to do for himself those things that he can best do for himself. He can read in one-half to two-thirds less time what a lecturer gives orally. The usual or unique value of the lecturer will be his explication of the content.

If we agree to this, the television/correspondence study course will shape up around these principles:

1. The television medium will be used to motivate student interest, to motivate study activities that are the responsibility of the student and that indeed are the ways by which he learns in depth (reading, writing, reporting, discussing, evaluating, criticizing, comparing, selecting, judging, solving problems, understanding, etc.). The correspondence study guide is essential here in order that the student have sufficient guidance in study and sufficient resources of educational materials to carry on efficient study. Perhaps the motivational TV function can be carried out in short TV broadcasts of fifteen minutes or less, especially since the instructor and the students have the study guide to work from.

2. The explicative role of the instructor can well be conveyed by TV. On the assumption that the earlier motivation has brought about student study activities, the next TV broadcast might be a half-hour in length, and strictly explicative in content—a depth learning experience with a good teacher possible because of the previous student learning activity. This phase of the instruction then leads into further independent student activity—the preparation of the assignment. The assignment has several purposes in the course combining the correspondence study method and the TV medium. It is in itself a depth learning experience growing out of the earlier motivational and explicational teaching conveyed by the TV and the study guide. It is also the vital second channel of communication used by the student to feed back to the teacher evidence of progress, problems, questions, etc. It is in addition the evaluative device by which the quality of the total educational experience of the student can be assessed. To the student, the assignment is a personal link with the teacher in what is otherwise an impersonal relationship; it secures for him individual attention, adaptation to his unique nature and needs and the "knowledge of results" so important to educational growth.

3. The pacing role of the TV lesson can emerge only if the medium has been used imaginatively to motivate and explicate. One advantage of regular correspondence study for many students is the opportunity to proceed at a rapid pace. When part of the course is conveyed by TV, all students are held to that pace. So little, often, can be covered in a lecture-type presentation on TV (especially if kept to one-half hour) that students are not paced adequately. If the course is carefully designed, however, to motivate and explicate, the pace that can be set for student learning activities is heightened, and the student is continually "reaching" at or near the limit of his ability.

Evaluation and Experimentation

Thurman White and Chester Williams of the University of Oklahoma, who devised the White-Williams Rating Scale, recently used the scale to analyze the effectiveness of correspondence study and audio-visual techniques, separately and together, in teaching. The scale lists ten basic criteria of good teaching and rates the methods analyzed on a four point scale. (The scale is reproduced on p. 53.) The total number of points possible on the scale (for a perfect rating on all ten criteria) is 40. Correspondence study rated separately by White and Williams garners 25 points; audio-visual teaching rated separately garners 23 points. Combined, however, the two methods achieve a rating of 33.

Much experimentation and research is still needed in the search for the most effective way of combining the mass media (TV, radio, films, and other audio-visual devices) with the individualized, tutorial methods

CORRESPONDENCE STUDY AND AUDIO-VISUAL TEACHING METHODS RATED SEPARATELY AND COMBINED AGAINST TEN TEACHING CRITERIA

Criteria	1. Lousy	2. So-So	3. Good	4. Wow
Caters to Individual Desires		AV	CS x	
Sustains Interest	CS		AV x	
Builds on Previous Experience		AV	CS x	
Provides for Different Learning Rates		AV	CS x	
Structures Content Sequence			AV CS	x
Uses Meaningful Materials		CS		AV x
Verifies Adequacy of Responses	AV		CS x	
Provides Opportunities to Practice Adequate Responses		AV	CS	x
Relates New Learnings to Old		AV CS	x	
Anticipates Transfer of Learning		AV CS	x	

The White-Williams Rating Scale. CS = Correspondence Study; AV = Audio-Visual Teaching; x = Correspondence Study and Audio-Visual combined. T = 40; CS alone = 25; AV alone = 23; CS and AV combined = 33.

of correspondence study. The possibilities are so great, however, and the need throughout American education so pressing, that there is clearly an obligation for television, radio, and audio-visual specialists in education to join as quickly as possible the correspondence educators to hammer out new techniques. Proposals, such as those recently being made by the joint report of the Correspondence Study and Audio-Visual Divisions of NUEA, for the broad testing of correspondence study combined with TV, should receive support. Funds should also be provided for research and experimentation in the use of radio and films.

The "high antenna" project of the Learning Resources Institute which will place an airborne TV antenna over the Purdue area for broadcasting ETV to a large region in the middle west, will require programming of an advanced kind to achieve the great potential of this novel proposal. Correspondence courses combined with TV instruction would seem to offer the advanced kind of programming that the airborne TV project will need.

The great resources of the National Educational Television and Radio Center also are a natural "outlet" for correspondence courses developed with film, TV, or radio enrichment. It is, after all, supremely appropriate that American educators find the way to adapt the mass media to meet the educational needs and multiply the learning opportunities of individual Americans.

PART III

A LOOK INTO THE FUTURE

Chapter VI

AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS AND CORRESPONDENCE STUDY

In many states there is fairly adequate provision for educational needs through the high school grades. Within the formal school programs (as indicated earlier) changes are taking place which will improve educational opportunities still further. But the changing nature of our society and our economy have already indicated that for many thousands of persons our formal educational programs are insufficient. Post high school opportunities are now needed nearly universally if the American dream is to persist for the new generations coming up. How can broad post high school educational programs be accomplished? Unfortunately, this need has occurred at a time when our great economic resources are already strained because of the continuing need for heavy expenditures in defense, in science, road building, in conservation, in the repair and expansion of institutions of higher education. We have despaired of finding adequate funds to do all of these jobs even partially. How then can we add another layer to our educational system, providing extended and enriched post high school educational opportunities for youth who are in need of additional education to prepare for the technical positions that our economy more and more requires?

Similarly, the need for continuing education through adulthood, not alone for vocational or economic reasons but equally for social and cultural reasons, raises many problems. In some states, the answer to these needs has been the junior college system; in other states there has been a development of separate vocational-adult schools. Elsewhere university extension has been the mechanism for program creation to meet needs. But all of our states are not populous or wealthy enough to afford broad programs, or at least to afford their full development, and the temper of Americans has so far been opposed to heavy federal subsidy of such schools. To meet the post high school needs for equalized educational opportunities with the greatest efficiency and at the least total cost will require the coordinated and effective use of existing educational facilities in every community.

A Coordinated Post High School Program

The objectives which a fully coordinated state program of post high school education would meet are these:

1. Equalize educational opportunity and instructional costs for post high school students regardless of where such students live.
2. Provide educational opportunities broadly adapted to individual needs of students.
3. Avoid wherever possible the heavy costs of establishing fully new systems of post high school education to preserve funds for adequate expansion and maintenance of existing systems.
4. Make fullest possible use of existing and coordinated educational facilities and programs, adjusting programs to provide for genuine flexibility and liberal transfer privileges for qualified students.
5. Prevent sharp increase of fee and tuition costs, which would deny educational opportunities to economically disadvantaged students, by charging post high school educational costs to three sources: the state; the local community, county, or school district; and the student.
6. Relieve institutions of higher education of the requirement of admitting students whose aims and abilities are essentially nonacademic.
7. Admit students for residence or on-campus study in all types of institutions on the basis of demonstrated ability to profit from additional educational opportunity.

To accomplish the above objectives it is desirable and possible to combine the resources of all agencies now involved in post high school education with the tremendously flexible method of correspondence study. Here is how correspondence study can be combined with existing school resources to meet post high school educational needs:

1. Establish through state and local coordinating committees, curricula in the college preparatory, technical-terminal and liberal-terminal fields, providing for liberal transfer of "credits" and joint certification as needed between institutions thus coordinated (county teachers colleges, state colleges, university centers, university extension—correspondence study—and vocational-adult schools.)
2. Provide state aids for post high school education (in public systems) to match local funds available for local students.
3. Allocate these local-state funds to students in the form of scholarships at first; then, after demonstrated achievement, as scholarships and grants-in-aid. This is the way the program would work:

   Selected (perhaps, some day, all) students in areas lacking local campus-classroom educational opportunities would be granted scholarships for courses by correspondence study. Directed study, TV-radio, supervised study or group study would be arranged where numbers of students require or permit.

When the student has completed a specific amount of learning by correspondence study (say a semester or a year) at a satisfactory level of achievement and has demonstrated an ability to study, read and write independently, then he becomes eligible for a grant-in-aid to finance in part his travel to the nearest campus offering the program he wishes to follow.

This plan would provide for a range of financial aids to students:

a. fee remission or scholarship for correspondence study,

b. fee remission or scholarship for campus study,

c. fee remission or scholarship plus grant-in-aid for campus study (eligibility for b and c dependent upon success in a).

The proposal outlined above could be made in any state having a university program of correspondence study that could be joined with the other post high school programs (University, normal school, state colleges, private colleges, vocational schools, and county colleges), to provide for every youth equal and adequate educational opportunities after high school. The basic pattern achieved, however, could also be used to meet the continuing educational needs of adults. This linking of correspondence education with classroom, institute and conference formats, would greatly expand educational opportunities at little additional cost.

Expanding Learning Opportunities for Adults

While the number of persons engaged in small group correspondence study programs in the United States is now small, perhaps not more than two thousand (only a fraction of the total number served by correspondence study or by the class method) there is a strong possibility that this method can meet the needs of many thousands of adults in this country as effectively as any other method. Considering the economy of the method, its conservation of staff, its demands on group members for development in leadership, self-discipline, reading, writing, and discussion skills, and its flexibility, the method deserves wide exploration and study. Particularly in view of the scarcity of adult education opportunities in sparsely populated areas of the United States, the method may be the answer to the needs of adults for learning opportunities at distances from centers of learning.

Topical Courses

The nature of the correspondence method, requiring careful preparation and production of a study guide or syllabus before a student or group can be enrolled, creates a difficult problem in teaching certain subjects. It is difficult to present courses on topics of current interest. Ordinarily, a year is expended in the development and production of a correspondence course, whether for group or individual use. This time-lag problem has not been solved, and it is important enough to engage the most imaginative minds that can be interested.

One solution proposed for the "topical" course (developed around topics of current interest) is that of abandoning the fully-developed study guide in favor of a brief statement of the problem of the assignment, a series of provocative questions, and a package containing a rich assortment of readings, both standard and current (magazines and newspapers). The reading materials kit to accompany the problem statement and leading questions would be similar to the "Citizen's Seminar" kits developed by some extension library services.

Another proposal calls for publishing a weekly or monthly "study-letter" that would guide students in the use of current and standard source materials. Perhaps the technique used by Purdue University to get its correspondence study guide on "Industrial Packaging Technology" into the hands of all subscribers to the journal, Industrial Packaging, may have merit here. The Purdue study guide was printed, unit by unit, in Industrial Packaging. Perhaps journals in other fields—such as current affairs—could be induced to run "study letters" for individual and group study programs sponsored by University Extension Divisions.

Inter-Institutional Cooperation

Even more important in the reduction of the time-lag and costs, and in providing expanded opportunities, NUEA—through its Correspondence Study Division—might inaugurate a program of collaboration among member universities offering correspondence study, assigning the development and production of courses in a particular subject matter area to particular universities. All NUEA institutions collaborating would offer these courses. Students or groups could enroll in the NUEA institution nearest them. If universities can cooperate freely in research (as in MURA)[1] and in the development of library services (as in MILC),[2] perhaps cooperation in teaching courses for adults and other students can also—someday—be achieved.

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[1] Midwestern Universities Research Association.

Dean E. W. Ziebarth of the University of Minnesota recently spoke to this point at a seminar on University Administration held at the University of Wisconsin:

> All of us here have in some measure experienced the economic limitations of the single corporation or educational unit. There seems to be no substantial disagreement with the principle that there are many areas in which even the most distinguished of our educational institutions have little or no business trying to operate on an independent, essentially competitive, and duplicating basis. In these times of fabulously costly equipment and instruction it might be quite unnecessary for every institution (for example in the Big Ten) to be developing with equal vigor every academic area, including those for which there will, by their very nature, inevitably be few consumers.

The Big Ten (plus the University of Chicago) already have a Committee on Inter-Institutional Cooperation to seek out the areas in which these universities can work together to improve their educational offerings and services, and yet keep costs down. Similarly, if all NUEA correspondence institutions did not feel compelled to develop a full curriculum for all students served (a tremendous burden on staff and budget), but were willing to develop courses only in areas of greatest strength, accepting courses developed elsewhere to complete the curricular offerings, perhaps staff time and funds would be freed sufficiently to study, explore, develop and test better, more imaginatively conceived courses.

Liberal and Humanistic Education

The enrollment pressures in credit-type courses have to some extent forced most attention on these kinds of courses, so that only a few universities offer broadly conceived programs of liberal education for adults by correspondence.

Professor Morse Peckham of The University of Pennsylvania has recently described the principles and program devised for training business executives of the Bell Telephone Company.[3] Professor Peckham's humanistic program places in admirably clear perspective the characteristics that might well be sought in educating all persons in . . . "the intellectual qualities of perspective, technique of learning, self-awareness, flexibility, and growth; the social qualities of emotional comprehension of others and of one's self and the sensitivity to the diversity of human emotional experience; and the ethical qualities of the desire to discover what is true and good and the desire to put these values into practice."[4]

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[2] Midwest Inter-Library Center.

[3] Morse Peckham, Humanistic Education for Business Executives, (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960).

Correspondence study in its variety of forms and flexibility of approach to the individual learner would seem to be uniquely fitted as a method by which adults can continue the liberal education that is the achievement of a lifetime. Professor F. Lloyd Hansen, Chairman of the NUEA Committee on Liberal Education and Home Study, recently described the role of correspondence in liberal and humanistic program for adults as follows:

> Bringing the helpful ingredients of superior motivation, the willingness to work, and the personal, if not face-to-face, direction of his teachers, the correspondence student frequently sets an almost ideal educational climate for intellectual activity. Not only can this arrangement attend to the student's education—the liquidation of his ignorance—but also provides the basic structure for the liberalizing process. The key role of correspondence study is not only the opportunity to practice in and to court familiarity with the skills of the liberal arts, but the opportunity to be directly associated with a teacher who can discern the difference between learning in and learning about the liberal subjects.[5]

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[4] Ibid, p. 37.

[5] "Report of NUEA Committee on Liberal Education and Home Study," NUEA Annual Conference, Chicago, Illinois, April 24, 1960.

Chapter VII

AN INTERNATIONAL PROGRAM OF CORRESPONDENCE STUDY

The challenge of broadening American educational opportunities within the formal schools, and of developing post-high school and adult opportunities for continuing education is pressing. But compared with the educational job needed world-wide, it is almost as nothing. There is desperate need for strengthened educational opportunities at all levels in many countries throughout the world. New nations in Africa, in Asia, and elsewhere, are struggling to be born politically, and to take their places in the councils of the United Nations. Unhappily, many new nations are handicapped politically, economically, and socially, by a low level of literacy and education for survival in an age of increasing technology. Strong nationalist movements, which were necessary in some countries to bring political independence, may be hostile and unfriendly to the essentially cooperative trends in government which older nations are struggling to establish in order that the world may find a basis for enduring peace.

Between 1949 and 1957 inclusive, 33,392 persons came to the United States to study under our various programs.[1] In 1959-60 there were 65,328 foreign citizens on educational assignments of many kinds.[2] The United States and many other countries have greatly expanded opportunities for foreigners to study in many fields. If it were possible to double, treble, quadruple the numbers of students in foreign countries who are receiving the gift of opportunity to learn, their nations might be helped in lifting themselves, and the roadblocks to international understanding might finally be removed.

To be sure this is conjecture, but it is an important and basic kind

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1. International Education Exchange Program, 1948-1958, U. S. Department of State, 19th Semi-annual Report to Congress.

2. Open Doors 1960, A Report on International Exchange (Institute of International Education, May, 1960), p. 6 ff.

of conjecture, the kind that ought to underlie any plans for an adequate international educational program. An eminent philosopher-writer-wit once pointed out that civilization is a race between catastrophe and education. In our times we are sometimes doubtful about education's winning the race—unless education becomes quickly available on a far greater scale throughout the world.

An important aim of our foreign policy—perhaps the most important aim—is the promotion of amity. As Richard D. Lambert has pointed out, "For America the ends of power have been made to fit the means of persuasion."[3] It was Walter Lippman who noted, many years earlier, that "Man is learning to 'see with his mind' vast portions of the world with which he has had no personal experience. His opinions must be 'pieced together out of what others have reported and what he can imagine.'"[4] It would seem to be desirable that we increase in every way possible the personal experience that foreigners have with us and our institutions. William Buchanan notes that "our actions, far more than our words"[5] will create the kinds of impressions that we think are more realistic and more favorable. This is because actions have effects, definite effects, on people, and because participating in effects is a personal experience. Buchanan recommends "increasing the opportunities for communication and common action, by Americans in concert with others . . . [towards] a great variety of endeavors, not only political but economic, recreational, medical, educational, social, philanthropic, agricultural, and commercial. Personal contact in a wide variety of circumstances might better enable others to 'put themselves in our place,' and to see us as we are.[6]

The subtle blend of self-interest and idealism necessary for American support of international educational programs was exceptionally well stated by President Dwight D. Eisenhower in an address made in 1956 in Waco, Texas. "Many nations," said Mr. Eisenhower, "though their cultures are ancient and rich in human values, do not possess the resources to spread the needed education throughout their populations. But they can wisely use help that respects their traditions and ways. For example, the whole free world would be stronger if there existed adequate institutions of modern techniques and sciences in areas of the world where hunger for knowledge and the ability to use knowledge are unsatisfied because educational facilities are often not equal to the existing needs. Do we not find here an adequate challenge to America's universities . . . [which if devoted to this task would enhance] . . . the prospect for a peaceful and prosperous world. . . . Each school would help each nation develop its human and natural resources and also provide a great two-way avenue of communication. We would gain new knowledge and wisdom out of the priceless values of another people's tradition and proud heritage. They would gain knowledge in technical and scientific fields where we have had an earlier start."[7]

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[3] "America Through Foreign Eyes," The Annals (American Academy of Political and Social Science, September, 1954), p. 7.

[4] In William Buchanan, "How Others See Us," ibid., p. 1.

[5] Ibid., p. 11.

[6] Ibid.

Correspondence Study in an International Program

Correspondence study as created and carried out by NUEA institutions would be an admirable mechanism for helping to meet the educational needs of countries lacking adequate opportunities, and at the same time creating more numerous personal contacts with Americans of the most generous and uncalculating kind.

Some fifty-two university-sponsored correspondence programs enroll annually somewhere between 100,000 and 150,000 students. Such a vast apparatus of existing programs would permit rapid and efficient development of correspondence courses and programs for students in many lands. In 1959-60 there were eighteen American universities which enrolled over 400 foreign students on their campuses. Ten of these institutions also offer programs of correspondence study, capable of great expansion.

It is essential for economic reasons that the largest number of persons be reached world-wide, and that a method of transmitting education be used (in addition to the methods currently employed) which will not require the physical displacement of persons. That method is correspondence study as described in this volume. The framework and resources to launch such a program already exist in the institutions of NUEA. What is needed now is to create the program and energize it through the modification of already existing laws which presently provide an excellent but incomplete international educational activity.

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[7] "Working Together for International Understanding," address made at commencement ceremonies at Baylor University, Waco, Texas, May 25, 1956.

The present U. S. international education program consists of activities carried on under such legislation as the U. S. Information and Exchange Act of 1948 (the "Smith-Mundt Act"). This Act was passed "to enable the government of the United States to promote a better understanding of the U. S. in other countries, and to increase mutual understanding between people of the United States and the people of other countries." One of the two principle means used to carry out these objectives is "an educational exchange service to cooperate with other nations in: 1) the interchange of persons, knowledge, and skills; 2) the rendering of technical and other services; and 3) the interchange of developments in the field of education, the arts, and sciences."

The creation of an international program of correspondence education would seem to be consistent with the purposes of the Smith-Mundt Act.[8] Such a program might be put into effect by means of a three-phased program as described below.

Proposal For An International Program

Phase I would begin with the international exchange programs now in effect. Thousands of foreign students have studied in this country under federal grants or exchanges. Students who have gone back to their homelands should now be offered a chance to continue their education by correspondence. A follow-up correspondence educational program would be highly effective in reinforcing the educational gains achieved by residential study in this country. As a matter of fact, the lack of an effective follow-up program is one of the weaknesses of our present residential study program for foreign students.

The second part of Phase I is the granting of correspondence scholarships to other qualified persons in foreign countries. Scholarships would be made available under the Smith-Mundt Act and other acts already in existence for the exchange, interchange, and rendering of educational services to foreign countries. Scholarships would permit qualified foreigners to enroll in courses offered by NUEA institutions approved for this purpose. Students would have to qualify in much the same way as exchange students now qualify—meeting educational standards (prerequisites) set for each course, and possessing facility in the English language. NUEA institutions would be approved for participation according to such criteria as: quality of courses offered; quality of staff used for instruction; flexibility of correspondence instructional system and methods; resources of a university that can be mobilized to provide for expansion and enrichment of the program; demonstrated efficiency and effectiveness in similar programs (including rapidity of lesson service that can be offered).

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[8] Other federal legislation authorizing international educational exchanges is listed in the semi-annual reports of the U. S. Department of State.

It is important to perceive how badly needed correspondence education is in even our present program of international education. It is needed even more, perhaps, as a means of selecting—from among those who receive correspondence scholarships under American universities—those students who will receive the much more expensive scholarships or exchange to study here in residence. Present methods of selecting foreign students for resident U. S. study could be strengthened if students were selected only from among those who had first studied by correspondence. The "screening" effect of correspondence study is well known to those who are familiar with this method. The correspondence course requires a student of strong self-motivation and of strong self-discipline, and one who can demonstrate or develop necessary abilities of reading, orderly and systematic study, and communication in the English language.

Phase II would be the making of annual grants to participating NUEA institutions (concurrent with Phase I). Grants would be made (under existing Acts) for the purpose of:

a. Payment for instructional services of participating universities, instructional material furnished to students, air mail postage between students and universities for exchange of materials and instruction, and administrative overhead.

b. Payment for the development of special courses to be used with foreign nationals in the correspondence study program. In part, this money would be used to translate into foreign languages existing courses when they are appropriate for use by foreign nationals.

It should be pointed out here that educational needs in foreign countries cannot always be successfully met by bringing foreign students here to study our courses in residence, or by exporting our courses (by correspondence) to students abroad. Educational needs are intimately a part of the milieu in which the student lives. As Walter S. Monroe puts it, ". . . World progress will be accelerated by an exchange of experiences in education. . . . Educational systems cannot be transferred from one country to another, but ideas, practices, devices, developed under one set of conditions can always prove suggestive for improvements even where the conditions are somewhat different."[9]

Phase III (introduced within a year of Phases I and II) provides for the training of foreign educators to administer and carry on some phases of the correspondence program in their own countries. Annual grants would be made to selected NUEA institutions (criteria as in Phase I) for the purpose of training foreign educators in the development and administration of correspondence programs in their home countries. After a year's training and experience, the foreign educators would return to their home countries, there to provide local administration for the program, to evaluate the program continually in cooperation with American educators, to devise new courses according to national needs, to help select students for scholarships (correspondence and residential exchange) and to set up procedures for the creation of national correspondence programs as needed without American aid. It would be an aim of the program that eventually foreign states or universities would take responsibility for the creation of their own correspondence and other types of extension educational programs.

The proposal described above meets in a unique way, for foreign students, the plea made by Dr. Margaret Mead in a recent issue of the NEA Journal. Dr. Mead called for "a lateral transmission of knowledge" in the world, based on the fact that "the adult's need and right to study more is as great (perhaps greater than) his need and right to hold the same job until he is sixty-five." It doesn't weaken the rationale for an international correspondence educational program to point out that the correspondence mechanism created under Phase III above could also be made available to Americans who can similarly profit by continued study from both American and foreign universities. Such a mechanism would go far towards completing an international network of opportunities for study experiences that would give a person anywhere personal contact with people in other countries, the sharing of learning experiences, the creating of understanding and trust between people. Here would be both a basis for peace and a springboard for economic stability.

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[9] Encyclopedia of Educational Research (Macmillan Company, 1950), p. 622.

Such an international program would begin the process of knitting together large numbers of countries in the world in a process of education based upon individual learning. Where now there may be but one exchange or scholarship person studying in the United States, there may be eventually through this program, 500 persons studying with American teachers at their own homes at no more cost than that one presently. To be sure, the 500 students would not be studying full time; they would be carrying the correspondence course as American students do, as part of a full load including employment as well as family responsibilities. But this has its advantages. Persons of promise are not required to be uprooted from productive positions in their home communities to study in the United States, but are given an opportunity to follow their ambition for additional education while they continue to carry out their normal functions. Such an arrangement permits the student to apply what he is learning immediately for immediate effect, the practical purpose of all education.

Chapter VIII

NEW DIRECTIONS AND A NEW IMAGE

The "New Directions" in correspondence study described in this volume are, it is hoped, only the preliminary indications of a renaissance in the use and understanding of this method. Those who know the method best—the educators who work in this field, and the students they serve—are convinced that in correspondence study are at least partial answers to many of the nation's—even the world's—educational problems.

Correspondence study educators have for years been confounded by the low esteem in which the correspondence method has been held by some of their colleagues and by the general public, despite a succession of studies which has consistently demonstrated its effectiveness.[1] A recent visitor to the United States observed that there is insufficient recognition of correspondence study in the United States because of neglect on the part of the universities themselves. Dr. Samuel Pauw, Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of South Africa, commented:

> I attended a representative conference of university correspondence administrators at Allerton House of the University of Illinois and gained the impression that some of those responsible for correspondence education were neglected persons struggling for recognition. . . . The main reason for the lack of recognition is the fact that it [correspondence education] is a neglected part of university work.[2]

Perhaps closer to the mark is a comment made by Professor C. Gilbert Wrenn (on leave from the University of Minnesota as Project Director of the American Personnel and Guidance Association, Washington, D. C.). Professor Wrenn made the following observation after reading portions of this book before publication:

I seem to have a flash of insight into the fact that of course professors

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[1] Gayle B. Childs, "What Research Shows," (University of Nebraska; NUEA, Division of Correspondence Study, 1956, mimeographed).

[2] Samuel Pauw, "University Extension Work in the United States and South Africa," UNISA, XII, No. 13, p. 33.

> would be critical of correspondence courses. . . . If we really believe that correspondence courses are valuable, then our own unique significance as lecturers and student group leaders is threatened. We often resist an idea, not on the basis of its merits or demerits, but because we are ego-involved. I have no doubt that it becomes apparent to a professor that correspondence work is less dignified than enrolling in a college, because a professor is less necessary in the former situation.

The Private School Image

The greatest problem, however, in the recognition of university-sponsored correspondence study, both for its achievements and its potential, derives from the "feedback" of the private correspondence school image whenever correspondence study is under discussion.

The ubiquitous private correspondence school promotion (and the near absence of university correspondence promotion) has created a single image of correspondence study in the minds of most Americans. Repeated private school claims that "It's Easy to Learn," "You, Too, Can Enjoy a Big Salary," "Draw Me And Discover Your Talent," etc., have reinforced again and again that single correspondence school image. Aware that there are dissatisfied students of certain private schools, that Federal Trade Commission cease and desist orders have been directed against certain private correspondence schools, many Americans, heedful of warnings issued by educators against enrolling in private "Degree Mills," have uncritically accepted an image of correspondence study as an unprofessional if not unethical way of learning. The better private schools undeserving of this stigma, and the NUEA and government-sponsored schools, have been lumped by an undiscriminating public into this same category.

Toward A New Image

Not all private schools are a snare for the unwary student; and organizations such as the National Home Study Council are slowly acquainting private schools with the need for ethical practices, higher academic standards, and emphasis of educational principles over the desire for profit. But not until at least the discriminating portion of the public, and the teaching profession itself, discards the old private school image of correspondence study will the university programs in this area be able to achieve the standing and recognition they are entitled to by virtue of a long, demonstrated program of achievement in education. The nation and the world have need of correspondence study as practiced by many of the greatest universities if pressing educational problems are to be solved economically and effectively.

If an accurate image of university-sponsored correspondence study can be accomplished, it will be chiefly through the recognition of the kinds and quality of programs that NUEA institutions create and carry on. The NUEA programs of correspondence study must be made known to the American public through a more aggressive information program in which university-sponsored correspondence study is seen in its proper relationship to the accepted and respected educational programs of American universities.

The most important persons in the reappraisal of correspondence study are those who work in this field. Correspondence educators must themselves be equal to the task of critical evaluation of programs based upon accepted criteria for excellence. The drafting of such criteria, long lacking in the correspondence field, was the chief purpose of the special Workshop of the Correspondence Study Division of NUEA at the 1960 annual meeting in Chicago. With the acceptance and publication of standards and criteria for the evaluation of university-sponsored correspondence study, educators in this field will be able to examine their programs critically, institute modifications, and demonstrate achievement of the highest standards.

When the achievement of correspondence programs can be measured against established criteria for excellence, then full recognition and support should follow and a more accurate image of university-sponsored correspondence study will emerge.

Fortunately, the vitality and creativity of correspondence study workers has never been higher. A new professionalism pervades the ranks of correspondence educators, a professionalism stimulated by the goal-oriented activity of the NUEA Division of Correspondence Study. Perhaps this professionalism is the most important of the "New Directions" in university-sponsored correspondence study that is visible today. Without this professionalism, the other new directions described in this volume would not be as promising and significant as they are. It is precisely because there is a new ferment in correspondence study that Professor R. C. Carpenter of Pennsylvania State University could challenge correspondence educators with this statement:

> Here [in correspondence study] is the general framework of an activity which has enormous possibilities now, and imaginative alternatives should be possible. Let us make several suppositions or assumptions. What would result if: a) The activity of correspondence studies were staffed by first order imaginative men and serviced by highly qualified faculty members fully assigned and dedicated to correspondence work? b) What would happen if a combined and concerted effort were made to design and produce the highest quality of course materials to replace what is now being used? c) What would happen if radio, television, and practical audio-visual materials were used to compose a new pattern of correspondence study? d) What would be the results if means could be found to personalize correspondence work, activate the maximum of motivation for academic achievement in individuals and utilize small student groups to reinforce learning? e) Finally, what would be the results if correspondence could be freed from restrictive academic machinery, freed for all levels of subject matter, and given a chance for full development? It is not unreasonable to expect at a minimum that much of our [horse and buggy] instructor-car conveying and presenting of information could be done by new patterns of correspondence work.

Professor Carpenter's vision of the great potential of correspondence study is a challenge to correspondence educators, and, as the new directions described in this volume have indicated, the challenge is being met. It is part of the task faced by every American educator: to develop and perfect whatever educational programs can be applied to the solution of our national needs and problems in education. Whether we work with youth, university students, or with adults; whether we provide credit or non-credit courses; whether we aim educational experiences at the narrow requirements for academic diplomas or degrees, or at the fulfillment of the mature adult, the challenge of our time, in which ideas and lifelong learning are essential, must be met by all educators, no matter what their field of specialty.

The spirit in which educators can well meet the challenge is expressed by Miss Lelia Bascom, Emeritus Professor of English, who taught some of the first correspondence courses at the University of Wisconsin. Miss Bascom, in recalling the early struggles to create the correspondence program of which she was a part, made this statement:

> We were always trying to see the need and fill the need, to meet a need that came; but always we saw the idealism that lay behind [filling] the need; so we were working both for the practical point of view and idealistic bound together in any public work that we did.[3]

---

[3] "An interview with Miss Lelia Bascom," typescript of a tape-

The new directions of correspondence study—in being and proposed—will achieve the large ends hoped for only if correspondence educators can meet the challenge of our times as professionals. If this is done, a new image of correspondence study will—at least for university correspondence programs—begin to replace the old image created by the private schools. Correspondence education can then move more rapidly in many of the new directions described in this book. Correspondence study might then achieve the prediction made by William Rainey Harper, the intellectual founder of the University of Chicago and an early experimenter with instruction by mail. Harper, in an essay written in the mid-1890's wrote:

> I venture . . . to make two statements; one an assertion based on large experience, the other a prediction based on strong conviction:
>
> 1. The student who has prepared a certain number of lessons in the correspondence school knows more of the subject treated in those lessons and knows it better, than the student who has covered the same ground in the classroom.
> 2. The day is coming when the work done by correspondence will be greater in amount than that done in the classrooms of our academies and colleges; when the students who shall recite by correspondence will far outnumber those who make oral recitations.

---

recorded interview on June 21, 1958, by Roger Axford, Assistant Director, Racine Extension Center, The University of Wisconsin Extension Division.

4. American Ideas About Adult Education, 1710-1951, edited by C. Hartley Grattan, Classics in Education, No. 2 (Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University), p. 83.

EVALUATING LIBERAL ADULT EDUCATION

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PREFACE

The Evaluation Project reported here is a pioneering venture in liberal adult education which has proved to be feasible and fruitful. The development of effective educational programs for adults as for children and youth requires a means for appraising the courses offered, to find out how well they are attaining the educational purposes for which they are intended. Without assessment of results, we have no basis for distinguishing the effective courses from those which are less effective, no basis for identifying the materials and procedures which are productive of learning from those which are less productive. In short, the development of a good educational program requires continuing evaluation to identify and retain the things which are effective and to eliminate or modify those which are not.

To work out a satisfactory program of evaluation for courses aimed at teaching specific skills like typewriting or accounting is difficult enough, but to construct a sound procedure for appraising the extent to which adults attain the goals of liberal education is far harder. Yet, because the goals of liberal education are less concrete and the materials and methods for teaching and learning are less obvious, appraisal of results is even more important. Hence, the work reported here is of great significance.

The procedure followed in the project is a sound and straightforward one, beginning with the formulation of the educational objectives of liberal adult education, then proceeding to the construction of instruments which indicate the extent to which each objective is being attained. However, the formulation and clarification of aims which have commonly been expressed in vague terms require much study, deliberation, and discussion. The construction of instruments demands originality and ingenuity and those who work on this task must free themselves from the common notion that educational appraisal is limited to the current types of examinations and tests. For these reasons the development of a comprehensive program of evaluation takes a long time. However, this project has already made remarkable progress, and it has laid the groundwork for completion.

This report will not only be of interest and value to those who are engaged in adult education but also to those in school and college who are concerned with evaluation. The objectives of liberal education outlined in this report are similar in many respects to secondary school and college objectives. The procedures used for identifying and clarifying these educational aims will be suggestive and helpful to teachers at all levels. The types of instruments selected for development are also like those needed by schools and colleges. Because of its broad relevance, this report should be widely distributed and read.

Ralph W. Tyler
Director
Center for Advanced Study
in the Behavioral Sciences

INTRODUCTION

Several years ago, when we embarked on the Evaluation Project which is fully and clearly described by Harry Miller and Christine McGuire in the following pages, we believed that effective work and development in the area of evaluation might be one of the most important contributions which we, at the Center, could make to the field of higher adult education. After the expenditure of a modest but significant amount of money; after a number of meetings with practicing adult educators, with behavioral scientists and with experts in the field of tests and measurements; and after arriving at definite conclusions about next steps on the project; we still believe that this is one of the most important activities to be undertaken by the Center.

As the authors point out in the section on "Evaluation and the Role of Adult Educators," the approach to adult education suggested by the Evaluation Project, the focusing of attention on development of sound objectives, the suggestion of methods most likely to achieve these objectives, and the gradual development of instruments which will make it possible to determine whether the objectives have been achieved, suggest a new and important role for the practicing adult educator. They propose that it is the task of the adult educator to determine (on the basis of both university goals and objectives and individual and societal needs) and to specify the objectives of adult education programs, that it is his role to suggest the most appropriate and effective methods for achieving these goals with adult groups, and finally that it is his responsibility to measure and evaluate the degree to which the objectives have been achieved by the methods utilized. In other words, the adult education administrator is provided with a technique and will be increasingly provided with instruments which will make it possible for him to assume the crucial role of program planner, curriculum developer, and program evaluator. The evaluation process does not suggest that the students and the faculty have a smaller part in program planning or in the learning process itself, but it does suggest that the adult educator has a key role which he must perform if the program is to be one which is more than a replica-tion of the daytime undergraduate program offered for adults, or if it is to be a program which does set out to accomplish certain specific educational objectives for adults.

From the point of view of the adult education dean or director, the conference and institute planner, the home study or correspondence administrator, the evening college administrator, or the educational TV program director, this manual makes very specific and operational proposals which will, it is hoped, permit these program planners to:

> Select and define the objectives of their programs in such a manner that the objectives will be clearly understood by administrator, faculty, and students and thus will be likely to result in more effective learning experiences.
>
> State these objectives in such a manner that it is possible to utilize or develop tests and other instruments which can determine the extent to which such educational objectives have been achieved.
>
> Examine alternative methods and techniques for achieving the desired objectives and, select those which appear to be the most appropriate.
>
> Determine the extent to which the specified objectives have been achieved by measuring knowledge, understanding, skills and values possessed before the program began and after its completion.
>
> Compare various methods and techniques for achieving similar objectives thus providing information about which kinds of programs contribute most effectively to certain objectives, with different types of groups.
>
> Demonstrate to their administration, to persons interested in programs, and to the members of the various programs themselves the extent to which particular programs have resulted in specified kinds of learning.
>
> Adopt a more scientific, objective approach to the entire process of program planning in the future.

Part One of the Manual describes the background of the Evaluation Project and the reasons why we embarked upon it. The process involved in defining objectives in such behavioral terms that progress on the objectives can be measured is discussed at some length and the development of one of the objectives in such a way as to enable a program planner to follow the procedure himself is illustrated. The methods and procedures utilized for the purpose of developing instruments are outlined briefly. This section also suggests how a program planner can work with faculty and tests and measurement people on his own campus on the development of additional instruments to be used in his own programs. Further, it suggests the manner in which effective teaching procedures may be matched to the program objectives which have been defined and some general principles which will probably apply to program development in all liberal adult education programs.

Part Two of the Manual is devoted entirely to the Political and Social Area. In connection with the presentation of the knowledge objectives in this area we have in effect proposed an outline of what it is that (in the eyes of the persons who have participated in the evaluation planning meetings) the liberally educated adult should know about the Political and Social Area. In addition to specifying the knowledge objectives, this section suggests other possible objectives in this area and a series of preliminary drafts of instruments which can be used to determine the extent to which the objectives in this area are actually achieved in the program.

Parts Three, Four, and Five deal in similar manner with the Community Participation, Moral and Ethical, and Arts Areas, respectively.

In Part Six the authors suggest some of the uses of evaluation procedures and data and some of the ways in which evaluation can enlarge and enrich the role of the adult education administrator.

The Center hopes to move ahead on the Evaluation Project—with major emphasis at this time on the further development and testing of instruments in the four areas outlined above, and at the same time wishes to share information about work already accomplished on the Project with the field. In issuing at this time a report on our experience, it is also our hope that a number of adult education program administrators will be encouraged to do further work themselves in specifying objectives and selecting teaching methods to achieve these objectives. We also hope that a number will initiate steps toward utilizing evaluation instruments outlined in this manual as well as toward developing new instruments which can be shared with the field.

We, at the Center, will be happy to cooperate (insofar as staff time permits) with adult education administrators who desire to develop or revise evaluation programs on their campuses and also to continue our role of clearing and communicating information about further developments in the field of evaluation.

A. A. Liveright, Director
Center for the Study of
Liberal Education for Adults

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In most social areas . . . we are still lacking objective standards of achievement. This has two severe effects: (1) People responsible for social management are frequently deprived of their legitimate desire for reconnaissance on a realistic basis. Under these circumstances, satisfaction or dissatisfaction with achievement becomes mainly a question of temperament. (2) In a field that lacks objective standards of achievement, no learning can take place. If we cannot judge whether an action has led forward or backward, if we have no criteria for evaluating the relation between effort and achievement, there is nothing to prevent us from coming to the wrong conclusions and encouraging the wrong work habits. Realistic fact-finding and evaluation is a prerequisite for any learning.

— Lewin, in "Group Decision
and Social Change,"
Readings in Social Psychology.

Part One

THE EVALUATION PROJECT—AN OVERVIEW

The Evaluation Process

During the past two and a half years, the Center and over twenty university-connected programs of liberal adult education have worked steadily at the task of developing the framework and the resources necessary to evaluate existing programs in the field and those to come.

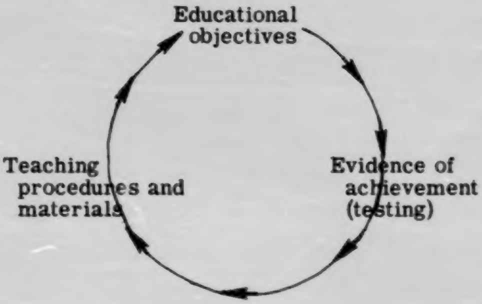
The Evaluation Project originated in a series of informal discussions with Professor Benjamin Bloom, then Examiner for the University of Chicago. A letter which he wrote us at the time puts very concisely the general aims which we then envisaged for the Project and which, at this much later date, we still regard as central. It is worth quoting directly, in part:

> The suggestion that the field of adult education might be considerably advanced by the availability of a set of evaluation devices grows out of our experiences with secondary education and general education. Each of these levels of education has been markedly affected by the evaluation process and by the instruments which were developed out of this process.
>
> Some of the ways in which adult education might be expected to profit from the availability of the instruments and by the actual process of instrument construction are:
>
> A. The major objectives of adult education (at least selected areas of adult education) would be emphasized and defined clearly.
>
> B. Evaluation as an essential step in the planning and development of each new program of adult education would be recognized and in many programs evaluation could become relatively practical.
>
> C. It would be possible to compare adult education with more formal school learning on objectives which are central to adult education.
>
> D. Unusually effective programs of adult education could be identified for more careful analysis.
>
> E. Adult education instructors could be provided with tangible evidence of some of the major changes which have taken place in their students.
>
> F. Students in some adult education programs could more objectively appraise their own growth and development.

We cannot overemphasize the importance of several implications of these general aims, which have been present as dominant themes throughout the Project. One of these is that our major evaluation interest has been not in the student but in the program. Liberal adult education, except where it is tied in closely with standard undergraduate degree programs, is not interested in giving people grades. Grades are administrative devices for certifying whether a student has some standard competence permitting the institution to pass him on to another level of work. Adult education tries to help people improve in many ways, from whatever level of sophistication and competence the student may begin to the level he is individually capable of achieving.

The first of these implications, then, is that we are primarily interested in evaluating programs, not students—a most important difference. It is the difference between asking, "Is this particular student doing well enough, or as well as his fellow students?" and asking, "How well is this program of ours succeeding in helping people to learn what we originally intended they should learn in it?"

A related implication is that we must be interested in much more than measuring achievement; if we are attempting to evaluate programs we need to know what goes into the program in the first place, and what kinds of changes to make in it if it is not successful in helping students achieve in the intended ways. The general process which we have included as part of our Evaluation Project may be imagined as a circular one, involving three major elements which are so closely related that it is often difficult to work with any one of them separately, thus:


Educational objectives
Evidence of achievement (testing)
Teaching procedures and materials

The major tasks which emerge from the relationship between the objectives of the educational program and any attempt to gather evidence about how well we are succeeding in achieving the objectives are:

Defining the behavioral aspect of the objectives clearly enough, and specifically enough, to indicate what devices can validly be used to measure achievement of them (i.e., do we want to increase knowledge, to improve such cognitive skills as judgment, etc.);

Specifying the content aspect of the objective by indicating the areas of knowledge important to adult education which should be sampled when instruments are developed (i.e., the total liberal arts curriculum, or selected problems, etc.);

Developing and validating instruments which will be widely useful to the field because they will measure achievement of those objectives which most persons in the field consider important.

The major task which emerges from the relationship between the educational objectives (as embodied in the instruments developed to test them) and the teaching procedures and materials actually used, may be formulated as being that of discovering and developing those procedures which are most likely to change peoples' behavior toward the stated behavioral goals in a specific content area.

The major tasks which emerge from the relation between teaching procedures and the educational objectives are those of:

Studying alternative teaching procedures in terms of their relative effectiveness in helping participants to achieve the stated objectives;

Suggesting changes in the teaching procedures to practices that might be more effective than the ones currently in use;

Reassessing the reality level of the objectives themselves, and perhaps revising them in light of this total process.

The following material discusses the principles employed in each of these major tasks, and the general nature of the emerging products.

Defining Objectives

The long history of adult education in this country shows an overwhelming preoccupation with the problems of adjusting new Americans to the strange social environment they face, or of preparing the labor force to meet rapidly changing demands of industry and business for new and more complex skills. That history, to be sure, has been punctuated at sporadic intervals by peaks of concern for individual growth in such areas as political understanding or the arts, but not until recently have such activities been sustained enough and extensive enough to raise the kinds of questions which a sharp statement of objectives requires.

Adult educators in tried and proved areas of vocational education have learned to raise them very sharply indeed, and those of us interested in liberal education can learn much from the sureness with which they state the kinds of understandings they are interested in having their students achieve. As part of a research team we recently had the opportunity of discussing objectives with Carl Strong, a teacher in a large extension division, who organizes and teaches courses for insurance people. Strong had agreed to permit us to use his classes for an experiment contrasting the outcomes of residential and non-residential programs, for which we needed to measure quite exactly the differences, if any, in what the two groups learned. The research team therefore asked him to state the objectives of his course in terms precise enough so that we could measure them, and prepared to settle down for a long, hard day of wringing them out of him, arguing about whether one could measure them, and dealing somehow with all the other vague objections and defensive reactions we had come to expect.

We were very rapidly straightened out. We learned that Strong knew precisely what changes he wanted to bring about in his insurance students, that among these were (1) acquisition of knowledge which he defined specifically; (2) the ability to apply that knowledge of insurance laws and alternative types of insurance policies, to concrete cases, that is, the ability to use the knowledge to write the most appropriate policies for people in particular circumstances; (3) a commitment to the field as a profession rather than a pure trade or business. We discovered that Strong knew how well he did on the first objective by giving examinations on each area he covers, locating the items which the group tended to miss, repeating instruction concentrated on those items, then testing again. He obtained evidence on the second by keeping in contact with the supervisors of his students and checking with them after a half year or so; but he was perfectly willing to devise for us a paper and pencil test of the ability to apply the data and principles to real cases. He followed up on the third objective in the same way as the second, but again was willing to test change in his students with an attitude scale which he helped us devise.

Strong faced the issue of evaluation straightforwardly because he had been changing his course content and methods for years on the basis of these kinds of reality checks. Why do so few teachers in liberal education have the same attitude? A host of reasons suggest themselves: the changes which liberal education tries to achieve in its students are more complex ones; college instructors tend to view themselves as researchers rather than teachers; they tend to identify the analysis and improvement of teaching with the derided teachers colleges; they often see their job as presiding over the training of future researchers rather than as one of helping people acquire liberal skills. There are undoubtedly others, but whatever the reasons, we were aware, as we began on the Evaluation Project, that the specification of the objectives for liberal adult education was not an easy task.

In the course of our early exploratory work, we began to see more clearly that three different processes were involved:

First, we needed some idea of the relative importance of the many objectives which were possible in liberal education. Given their variety and number, and the often limited resources of adult education, the need to work in the most important areas was a clear one.

Second, we had to get agreement on what these objectives meant in terms that would clarify both the teaching procedures relevant to them, the ways of getting evidence about students' achievement or non-achievement of them. The most fruitful method in the past has proved to be the process of specifying objectives behaviorally, that is, as statements of things the student should be able to do as a result of the educational process which he was not able to do before. In this context, of course, "behavior" means intellectual behavior more often than it does physical behavior.

Finally, we needed to know what areas of knowledge or human activity were important ones, ones in which educators wanted students to improve. Not just "having knowledge"—but knowledge about what; not just critical judgment in general—but ability to judge critically in some problem areas in particular.

Selecting and Ranking Objectives

The selection and ranking of objectives was a primary task and a major activity of the early stages of the Project. Since the Project itself was a deliberate effort to help evaluate adult education as a special field, we tried to make our analyses of objectives as relevant as possible to the activities of existing enterprises concerned with liberal education for adults and to depend insofar as possible on the judgments of adult educators in the field.

The first step in the Project, therefore, was a meeting at Princeton University of people actively engaged in planning or operating liberal adult education programs. The question asked them was a purely empirical one: Which objectives did they think important for the programs they were involved in? We easily compiled a list of about sixty objectives, and then proceeded, by an elaborate ranking process, to determine which of these the group as a whole would agree were most important. Nineteen programs represented at Princeton selected the following objectives:

(16 of 19 rated these of top importance)

1. Ability to examine personal and social attitudes and values.
2. Appreciation for intellectual and esthetic values.

(15 of 19 rated these as tops)

3. Interest in new areas of intellectual activity.
4. Critical inquiry and analysis.
5. Ability to make judgments, informed and independent, on intelligent bases.

(12 of 19 rated the following)

6. Increased facility in seeing connections and interrelationships.
7. Pleasure and satisfaction resulting from participation in educational programs.
8. Ability to develop sympathy with divergent points of view.
9. Acquisition of knowledge of the great problems of man.

These statements, of course, are in the early, very crude form. Yet after more than two years of work, a great deal of refinement of various sorts, and several reorganizations of the task, it is interesting that the list is still a good index of priorities. It has, however, undergone a number of modifications.

The major changes have occurred as a result of the behavioral analysis and definition of each of the statements. Thus, it has become clear in this process that the "ability to make judgments" (number 5 above) includes the ability to evaluate arguments critically as well as other of the analytic abilities implied in statement number 4 (see page 63). Similarly, "the ability to develop sympathy with divergent points of view" (number 8 above) can be eliminated as a separate objective, inasmuch as it implies changes which should be included both in the content objectives relating to "values," and in the behavioral definition of the judgment objective since the latter involves the "ability to analyze points of view contrary to one's own."

Other revisions of the list resulted from a reappraisal of priorities. Thus, "pleasure and satisfaction from participating in educational programs" (number 7 above) came to be regarded as a useful by-product of education, but not as of central importance in itself.

Finally, subsequent work in each of the subject matter areas resulted in sub-division and regrouping of the original statements. Thus, "the ability to examine personal and social attitudes and values" (number 1 above) has been reformulated as a content objective in the Moral and Ethical Area, and in addition has been redefined as "the ability to examine alternative arguments and their consequences," and thus is included in the judgment objective in each content area. Similarly, the operational definition of "appreciation" (number 2) led us to identify two major kinds of responses, one of which is clearly indicative of "interests" (number 3) and the other of which seems to be more appropriately dealt with in terms of the content objectives relating to values in the Arts and the Moral and Ethical Areas. These changes occurred because it was necessary to define each objective in terms that were appropriate to each content area, and in a few cases this resulted in definitions unique to one or another of the content areas. Thus the behavioral definition of the judgment objective for programs in the Political and Social Area differs markedly from the behavioral definition of judgment in programs in the Area of the Arts.

The statement of objectives which ultimately emerged for each of the content areas (and which is explained fully in succeeding chapters) reflects the priorities established in the original list. However, the final formulations differ from the original list as a consequence both of the process of refinement described above, and of the special demands of the subject matter in each area. For example, the objectives for the Political and Social Area (see pp. 43 ff.) now consist of the following:

1. The individual develops new, broader, and more intense interest in the area.
2. The individual increases his knowledge of facts, data, principles, concepts and major systems of ideas in this area.
3. The individual increases his understanding of relationships among phenomena, hypotheses, and concepts or systems of ideas in this area.

4. The individual increases his skill in critical judgment in this area.
5. The individual becomes more aware of, reexamines and modifies, his value system so as to make it more coherent, more nearly compatible with knowledge and understanding of the area, and one to which he can be more deeply (intensely) committed in view of the consequences of holding it with respect to crucial issues in the area.

Stating Objectives Behaviorally

As has been pointed out, experience consistently demonstrates that the mere statement of an educational objective is not enough to give direction to classroom methods, nor to specify methods of measuring achievement of the objective. We need to ask: If the student has indeed achieved the desired objective, what is he able to do now which he was unable to do before, or what is he now able to do better?[1]

In the educational field, such a question is answered more easily with respect to those activities that we tend to think of as "training." A teacher of swimming has a very clear idea of what he wants his students to achieve, often to the point of being able to specify precisely the number of yards he wants the achiever to be able to move through the water in a given fashion. The instructor of insurance cited previously has almost as specific a picture of what he wants from his achievers; sometimes this is codified in the form of a government examination for those who wish a license.

One might argue that such precision is unlikely ever to be feasible for the liberal arts; that may well be. There is little question, however, that we can make objectives considerably more specific than they now are without endangering the integrity of the liberal arts. Most university catalogs are content with setting the goal of producing better citizens, i.e. people with broader perspectives. A statement of the kinds of actions or abilities that serve to divide good citizens from bad citizens and the kinds of abilities or attitudes that divide those with broad perspectives from those with narrow ones, would obviously help us to determine the extent to which programs in the liberal arts actually do produce these types of men; such specification would also suggest the kinds of abilities the university must help its students to develop and hence to employ regularly, if they are to become proficient.

---

[1] This general view of evaluation is elaborated in considerable detail in Smith and Tyler, Recording and Appraising Student Progress, which describes its application to secondary school evaluation; Ralph Tyler, Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), which outlines a basic approach for curriculum development in general; Benjamin Bloom, et al., Taxonomy of Educational Objectives (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., Inc., 1956), which illustrates the procedure as applied to an undergraduate general education curriculum. As noted in the Preface, Tyler and Bloom have made major contributions to the design of this Project.

An example showing how one of the objectives was developed and subsequently defined in behavioral terms may help the reader understand the specifications of the objectives which he will find in this report. One of the nine priority objectives stated at Princeton was "increased facility in seeing connections and interrelationships." In stating this as an important objective we were agreeing with the history of intelligence testing that this is basic to the whole process of knowing, of attaching meaning to events and objects. As we discussed it, we decided that a person possessed of such an ability must be able to demonstrate it in a number of ways: he ought to be able to tell when a group of things is related in terms of some basic similarity or related because things in the group differ from one another on some significant criterion. He ought also to be able to handle the confusing and difficult issues of establishing causal relations. Given a principle of relationship, he should be able accurately to apply it to a seemingly random group of objects, etc. As we considered it, we began to assume that in defining this objective in behavioral terms we were actually specifying what we meant by "understanding." To know a great many facts about the American Revolution, such as when it happened, how long it went on, the issues at stake, and so on, is not to understand it. Understanding involves an ability to perceive the ways in which it is similar to other revolutions and the ways in which it is quite different; to relate other events of the time to it causally; to relate events at the time of the revolution, or at least to hypothesize relations, to current problems centuries removed. Thus our specification of the objective "understanding relationships," states what the student should be able to do if he possesses the ability sought:

1. He is able to classify different phenomena into appropriate subject, and/or concept, classes.
2. He recognizes that the same phenomena can be classified in a number of different ways, some of which are more significant than others for a particular purpose.

3. He discriminates different kinds of relationships, e.g., causal; both related to the same or other cause; co-variance; coincidence; pattern similarity; sequential.
4. He recognizes the relation between the instance and the principle or concept.
5. He formulates hypotheses to account for connections among phenomena.
6. He applies concepts of one field to the interpretation of phenomena in another.

During the course of the Project and particularly in the early stages, several doubts were often expressed about this general procedure by some of the cooperating adult educators. Because at this point some of these may well be occurring to the reader, the most persistent of them are noted below:

Doesn't the specification of objectives in "behavioral" terms mean that the university, in trying to change peoples' actions, is overstepping its boundary as an intellectual center?

It is probably already clear that we mean by "behavior" intellectual behavior as well as overt physical action. Most of the behavior in which the Project generally is interested is cognitive, that which deals with the recall or recognition of knowledge and the development of intellectual abilities and skills. Very seldom in the material which follows will you find statements of desired "feeling" or "action" behaviors, though they are present in one or two instances. At a number of points during the Project participants have discussed the issue as to whether education can set itself goals which include changing peoples' feelings and action, whether we should not content ourselves with making sure that if people want to act, they are equipped to act intelligently, and that if they want to have certain attitudes, they at least recognize the consequences of holding them.

At present, this general issue is still unresolved, and is likely to remain so. Some objectives in some areas carry statements of desired activity or desired attitudes. Program administrators or teachers who believe that it is not the business of education to try to change these can simply omit such materials when utilizing the results of the Project.

The answer to the major question is clearly: Most of our objectives are cognitive ones, and we are concerned with precise definition so that we will be better able to help students achieve them. In swimming, the ultimate test of our instruction is to ask the student to get in the water and swim. If we are interested in improving a student's judgment, the only way we can know that we have succeeded is to give him an issue and ask him to make a judgment, in a situation such that we can follow his procedure. Our specification of the objective provides us with precise criteria for evaluating both his decision and the process he employs.

In concentrating on the objectives that can be specified, can be measured to some extent, are we not leaving out the most important objectives of a liberal education, the immeasurables, the imponderables?

The very way in which this question is put, of course, makes it difficult to answer. If one means by this, for example, the immediate, almost total-organismic response of the highly trained musician to a beautifully executed Mozart quartet; or if one means the careful, dispassionate, almost beautiful analysis of an issue by a Learned Hand; or the sensitive, total perceptiveness in the response of a fine painter to a canvas he admires, we agree that they are of tremendous importance and that they are not the kinds of responses one can measure accurately. For that matter it is doubtful if they can be taught. The fact that people who have these abilities and make these responses often refine them without help from the teaching profession at all suggests the possibility that they are related to special temperaments, talents, or structures of perception as well as to experience.

The central issue of adult education at the higher levels is not how we can teach those of great talent the skills of the liberal arts, but how we can help those who are somewhat better than average to improve with respect to a range of cognitive skills.

Does not specification in such precise terms lead to a danger of rigidity, of telling an instructor what to do, of making the educational process cut-and-dried?

Those who raise this question often cite the horrible example of the educational world—the New York Regents Examination. There are a number of aspects of the current Project which make such rigidity most improbable. One, of course, is that the overwhelming pattern of local control in higher education makes the imposition of any such rigidity impossible. Second, the educational aims which the Project is specifying are for the most part cognitive skills, as the following list shows, and not the acquisition of detailed item knowledge.

In the four major content areas that have been explored in this study it has become evident that despite the variations in the behavioral definitions from one area to another, the objectives that have emerged can all be grouped according to concern with:

Category	Objective*
Motivation	Interest Attitudes
Cognition	Knowledge of concepts and principles Understanding of relationships Critical Judgment
Evaluation	Appreciation Values
Action	Diagnostic Skills Communication Skills Organizational and Administrative (including leadership) Skills Other skills specific to particular programs

*The objectives for each content area are specified fully in the appropriate section of this report.

The careful analysis of such aims actually encourages the exercise of ingenuity and creativeness on the part of the teacher by suggesting class activities that diverge from the standard format.

Specifying Content Areas

The idea of launching the Evaluation Project for liberal adult education arose out of the experience of high schools and colleges, which over the past quarter century have found such an activity a powerful tool in curriculum change and improvement of teaching methods. However, the educator confronted by the task of developing a statement of the subjects which should constitute the content objectives of liberal education for adults faces a situation that differs significantly from that in high school or college. The high school has captive students, for a considerable period of time, all of the same age group, all at the same developmental level, that is, facing the more easily-defined developmental tasks involved in becoming an adult in this society. There is general agreement, moreover, on the broad definition of these developmental tasks, despite the controversy over the best ways of carrying them out.

The college enjoys a similar, though by no means so clear, set of advantages. The student is still to some extent indentured by his ambition; the age group is relatively homogeneous; for the majority of the group, the developmental task is sharpened to preparation for a career, though it also includes the traditional aim of liberal education: to become a well-rounded individual, the twentieth century's wistful interpretation of the Greek ideal.

In contrast, liberal education programs for adults have as students people whose ages are likely to range from 25-65. The group contains persons at many developmental levels and includes those still absorbed with becoming established in a career, as well as retired persons; mothers of young children, as well as middle-aged parents facing the sudden void left by grown-up children. The programs can never know how long they will have contact with the student, and the forms of contact may vary from a residential week to certificate programs that might take four years to complete. They are carried on, not by institutions which can recognize each other as the same species with generally the same organizational structure, but by a bewildering variety of differently organized departments and divisions of colleges and universities, independent national organizations and associations, community groups, and others.

Both reason and experience argue against an attempt to do for liberal adult education what the high school and the general education movement in the colleges have done. Lacking a central institutional type, we can reasonably proceed to deal with the existing diversity only by finding and emphasizing the coherence that does exist, not by imposing an elaborate structure of purpose where, realistically, there is no program which attempts to carry it out.

Despite all the curricular variations from school to school, there is a common understanding about the traditional subject matter lines which define the objects of study in a formal school situation at the secondary and collegiate levels. The conventional boundaries of traditional disciplines are not helpful, however, in identifying the objects of study (content) of most liberal programs for adults. At the beginning of the Project we had no settled convictions about the types of subject matter to be sampled in the construction of measuring devices. Indeed, our assumption was that the most important objectives of adult education were the basic cognitive skills suggested at the original Princeton meeting, and that these were not limited to particular contents. But as the Project proceeded a number of focal interests emerged from our discussions with the adult educators participating in the study.

Thus the next stage of our study consisted of an analysis of programs of liberal education for adults that would enable us to classify and group them on the basis of the objects of study in each rather than on the basis either of conventional subject matter disciplines or of educational objectives defined in behavioral terms. Despite their very great differences, it appeared at this stage that, in terms of the objects of study most frequently observed, such programs could be grouped on an empirical basis into the following four categories:

Political and social problems—those programs which investigate or analyze political and social issues as an object of study. Participants meant by this the large scale, relatively remote, general problems which are structural, that is, that relate to fundamental features of our American society and the international order.

Community participation—those programs that focus on the local community as an object of study. As a subject area this may appear to overlap with the first, but a glance at the way in which each is divided into specific objectives in the following sections will make clear the differences. The focus here is on political and social problems on the local level, or the local manifestations of larger structural problems, with the accent on citizen participation.

Ethical and moral values—those programs concerned with the basis of moral and ethical decisions as an object of study. We group here the many programs designed to help people explore their own value systems and improve their ability to make value choices.

Appreciation of the arts—those programs which examine works of art as the object of study. The emphasis here is on critical consumership rather than on active creativity.

Several aspects of this set of categories require some comment. It is quite obvious that these are based directly and functionally on the shrewd guesses of adult education administrators and on proved adult interests. In a sense, they represent the realistic intersections of interest of the scholar and the layman and are far removed from the logical systematic ordering of a curriculum according to subject matter disciplines. Yet, except for one major omission, they represent a rough approximation to the modern college level, liberal arts curriculum: social sciences, the arts, and philosophy.

The absence of science from the above list is a reflection of the fact that there are relatively few liberal education programs for adults that include science as an area of study, and even in those it is assigned a low priority. There are several programs that treat the sociology of science and appear to us therefore to belong in the first or second category above, and other programs that concern themselves with the philosophy of science and thus appear to belong to the third category above, but there are almost no liberal programs for adults that deal with the phenomena of science as themselves objects of study. One might argue that the most important problems which science poses for the adult citizen are social or political in nature and therefore fall into the first area, and that specific knowledge about scientific advances and about scientific concepts are dealt with sufficiently in the mass media. On the other hand, a large body of respectable, and even eminent, opinion insists that scientific knowledge among the laity is one of the most important conditions for survival in this century; perhaps science should be included in our scheme precisely because of the low popular interest in programs in it. This issue of the relation of science to adult education is currently being examined.

It should be especially noted that each of the categories listed above is specifically related to adult education. A general course in the social sciences, for example, would simply not do the job required by the first area. The groups which have worked on the various areas have painstakingly specified the dimensions of the areas, the problems, issues, and subjects which they thought most important for adult programs to deal with. In so doing they have at the same time provided the specifics for one of the major objectives in each area: knowledge. Thus, the list of high priority problems in the Political and Social Area also constitutes a specification of the problems about which knowledge is most important.

Developing Instruments

A detailed specification of the objectives for adult education provides the necessary blueprint for ways of gathering evidence of their achievement. If the specification has been in terms of the behavior of the student we must find ways of inducing, observing and measuring the relevant behavior. Clearly, the most adequate measurement would consist of direct evidence based on careful observation in ordinary life situations. If we are interested in improving a person's ability to make judgments, then if we could sample his behavior when confronted with real decisions both before and after the educational program, we would be getting undeniably valid evidence for evaluating the success of the program.

Such a way of gathering evidence is, of course, inconvenient, cumbersome, hard to assess and very expensive. Most of the time one has to construct some artificial way of eliciting the desired behavior, some distance removed from the life situation. The most convenient and least expensive methods generally tend to be the most artificial and the most remote. By contrast, there was so much at stake in the success of the famous OSS wartime training program of intelligence agents that elaborate devices were developed to put trainees in situations that closely approximated the reality they would have to face. Similarly, in a research project some years ago there was strong interest in testing the effectiveness of a training program designed to assure that people would respond in a certain way to bigoted statements made in public places. The trainees were elaborately "framed" without their knowledge; they received letters from a local radio station asking them to come in to discuss the possibility of their participating on a panel show, and while they were waiting in the anteroom of the station a stranger made a casual, bigoted remark. The effectiveness of the training program was measured by the number of trainees who, in this "real" situation, actually made the "proper" response. These kinds of artificial testing situations are so close to reality as to be, for all important purposes, indistinguishable. Though an attempt to elicit a "proper" response to a written description of a case would be much more convenient, it would obviously be somewhat less valid and reliable.

The basic problem in instrument development for any educational evaluation is to find the most convenient and economical test that will elicit responses which bear a close relation to the behavior that could be expected from an individual in a non-test situation. In addition, evaluation of adult programs involves a number of other difficulties that arise from the special nature of education at this level. One of these is the problem posed by the fact that there is considerable variation in the amount of change which the various types of adult educational programs hope or can reasonably expect to achieve. Both a one-year World Politics Program and a week-long summer institute run by the Steelworkers attempt to increase understanding of political events and problems, but the expectations about what can be accomplished are obviously different in a program that includes serious, detailed discussion of a volume of complex readings over a period of a year, and one which includes only five or six seminar sessions based on very little reading. The short program can hope to generate some interest, some insight into the complexity of considerations with which such problems must be approached, perhaps some motivation to do more study and reading. The longer program might hope to increase significantly the ability of students to analyze complex political problems, and to free them from some political stereotypes. But it would be unrealistic in the extreme to utilize in the much shorter and superficial program the techniques designed to measure these more complex kinds of changes in participants.

Another class of problems arises out of the enormous range of specific content involved in the variety of programs. The University of Chicago Fine Arts Program includes experiences in opera, drama, music and the plastic arts. Other arts programs may choose only one of these to concentrate on, though the educational objectives of all of them may be quite similar with respect to the changes in general understanding or analytic ability sought. The problem of sampling the most common specific contents must be overcome if the instruments are to be of maximum general usefulness.

Still another difficulty is that participants in adult programs do not expect to be tested, and often develop considerable resistance to the idea. Some carry over from the days of their formal schooling unhappy memories of evaluation; testing in general is for many people a threatening situation which arouses defensive reactions.

Instrument Criteria

All of these difficulties suggest general criteria for instrument development:

Realism. The closer we can come to the realities of adult life in our testing, the better able we shall be to claim that we have changed students' habitual cognitive behavior. But more than that, tests which are clearly related to real-life problems will also be more interesting and reduce resistance to the testing situation.

Interest. Every possible way of making the instruments in themselves interesting to work on will increase the chances of their being used. They should challenge and involve the person who takes them.

Flexibility. The several evaluation devices should be useful to the widest variety of educational programs, and therefore need to be developed in such a way that any individual program may select from them those parts which are particularly relevant to the subject matter the students are confronting, as well as to the level of mastery expected in that specific program. The instruments must therefore be constructed out of building blocks easily separable from the whole. Or, in cases where this appears impossible, models should be developed which instructors may adapt to their individual, special purposes.

Procedures

Instrument development is a technical task, requiring highly specialized skills. At the same time, if the instruments are to be widely used, their design must incorporate the wishes of those who eventually will be involved in getting them adopted. These somewhat contradictory requirements resulted in the rather elaborate procedure which has been employed with most of the tentative exercises you find in subsequent sections of this report. The steps in the development of the test of judgment are outlined below, as illustrative.

1. The first step consisted of spelling out in great detail the behaviors which we felt to be indicative of the ability. Following the Princeton meeting, three regional sub-group meetings considered the objective;[2] the first of these worked out the objective in considerable detail, much as it stands on p. 102. The following meetings, accepting the statement in general terms, revised, amplified and refined it. The earliest version of the detailed specification is reproduced on the following page, to give some idea of the process.

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[2] CSLEA, Evaluation of Liberal Adult Education. The first and second Progress Reports on Regional Workshops, 1958 and 1959 (mimeo).

2. After considerable discussion, all the subgroups agreed that the most appropriate instrument for evaluating the objective would be a series of cases, each of which would require the student to make a judgment, and each of which would be presented in such a way as to force him to exhibit the process by which he reached that judgment.

3. The Center Staff prepared a rough draft of such a case. The particular case concerns a teacher who has been accused of being a Communist, and it embodies materials taken from Stouffer's national survey of community attitudes toward Communism. This case was reviewed and criticized at a number of meetings.

4. Several other cases were developed by a small group of test experts at Chicago, and on the basis of their work, a detailed model for constructing all of the items for each such case was developed.

Princeton meeting specification of "judgment" objective.*

He is able to make judgments, informed and independent on intelligent bases*

1. He is able and desires:
    - (a) to distinguish between opinions and factual statements.
    - (b) to evaluate opinions.
    - (c) to analyze underlying premises in given statements.
2. He knows, uses, diversifies, and evaluates sources of information.
3. He is aware of social pressure, opinion of peer groups and other non-rational influences on judgment.
4. He is aware of complexity of: issues, value judgments and conflicts therein.
5. He examines alternatives.
6. He sees relationships between judgment to be made and ultimate social values.

(Note: The Committee regards this definition as applicable to political and social programs, but doubts its applicability to fine arts, etc.)

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*CSLEA, Evaluation of Liberal Adult Education, First progress report (mimeo), p. 20.

5. In order to assess the reactions of adults to tests of this type, to estimate the amount of time such exercises require and to obtain samples of types of responses that would need to be taken into account in the scoring procedure, several of the cases were used as before-and-after tests with a group of adults enrolled in a month-long institute at the University of Wisconsin.

6. The model was then revised and used as a basis for working with instructors in a number of institutions on the development of other cases directly relevant to their courses.

Eventually, there will be a number of such cases,[3] from which programs in political and social problems, ethical and moral problems, and community participation can select in order to measure improvement in the judgment skills of their students. There will also be available the detailed model for the cases and complete instructions for scoring, should instructors wish to work out cases uniquely appropriate to their own programs.

This illustrative description of the procedures followed throughout the Project is intended to emphasize particularly the relation between the working educator and the technical specialist so far as instrument development is concerned. The basic prescription for the instrument, what it is to measure, and in what form it should be constructed must come primarily from the teacher and program planner; the responsibility for technical development rests mainly with the test specialists, who rely to some extent on the educators for raw materials and for review of the final product.

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[3] At present, exercises measuring judgment are available in preliminary form dealing with aspects of each of the following issues.

Political Action of an Independent Voters Association
Racial Tension in a White Neighborhood into which Negroes are moving
Aid to Dependent Children
Community Conflict Over a United Fund Drive
Relocation of Industry (2 cases)
Juvenile Delinquency (2 cases)
Urban Planning (2 cases)
Censorship
Foreign Affairs
Alleged Communism in Schools
Moral Issues in Tax Evasion
The Organization Man

Developing Effective Teaching Procedures

One immediate consequence of stating educational objectives in behavioral terms is that a substantial amount of existing data from the work of the behavioral sciences immediately becomes relevant. For example, one aspect specified as important in the judgment objective is the ability to identify the relation between particular issues and statements offered as evidence. The following are illustrative of the data that contribute to an understanding of this ability and its development:

a. the considerable amount of work in psychological laboratories on the way in which people improve their ability to discriminate among any series of stimuli which have some resemblance to one another; the ways in which people utilize particular clues to categorize phenomena in the same class; the findings in the field of perception which define the ways in which people are misled by errors of perception.

b. the impressive array of studies in social psychology that define the effects on social judgment of various types of group memberships.

c. the data in anthropology which identify the differences among cultures in the general kinds of things which must be learned, and that point out within our own culture the significance of different value leanings for particular ways of behaving.

These are only a few illustrations of the wide variety of data, far beyond formal learning theory, which have implications for teaching adults. Indeed, we have in adult education often failed to utilize fully the available insights and findings of the behavioral sciences. Consequently the Evaluation Project has been conducted in such a way as to provide a general framework for the systematic consideration of relevant data from studies in that area, though as yet this is one of the less developed aspects of the Project.

The materials on teaching procedures to follow are suggestive sketches rather than substantial prescriptions, but will serve, we hope, to demonstrate the possibilities. The behavioral specifications, and to some extent, the instruments, in each of the subject matter areas require further refinement before we will be able to pursue in any detail the task of defining teaching procedures.

The material which follows is based on a preliminary meeting of the authors with a group of behavioral scientists which took place early in the Project.[4] This group was presented with a tentative statement of

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[4] Jacob Getzels, Theodore Newcomb, A. Kimball Romney, Ralph

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the behaviors which defined the most important educational objectives selected by the adult educators. The group was asked to consider the following question: "If we regard learning as change in cognitive behavior, how much chance do we, as educators, have of helping people modify these specific cognitive behaviors?" The group agreed that these behaviors are modifiable, under certain conditions.

Before proceeding to outline those conditions, several basic preconditions need mention. One of them relates to variations in intelligence level. Higher education, generally, is quite selective; students are admitted to programs only if they conform to fairly rigorous standards. But since informal adult education programs do not screen their participants, the question arises: Are some of the difficult cognitive skills that we think important, achievable with all our students? If they are not, then perhaps we must exclude some objectives from our educational goals, because not only would it be difficult, but in most cases, it would also be undesirable to screen students who apply to adult programs. However, the apparently necessary choice between selection of students and elimination of difficult objectives may not be required. If we can accept the view that there are different levels of achievement, we may still usefully aim at the more demanding skills.

A second basic problem concerns the degree to which an intellectual skill can be abstracted from specific content. Can one hope to teach students to develop good judgment only in a particular area? Must one go through the process again if he wishes to improve the students' judgment in another area? The notorious examples of first-rate scientific minds whose political judgment was less than sophisticated would appear to argue for such an assertion. Yet there is recent evidence that the wholesale denial of any generalizability of learning is perhaps not as defensible as we have thought. This evidence suggests that a considerable amount of transfer of training is possible, where the individual perceives similarities among phenomena. Perception of similarities is in turn more frequent and more accurate if the individual is aware of an appropriate context or frame of reference in terms of which to deal with the phenomenon.

There is no doubt, at any rate, that in dealing with such a skill as

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Tyler, Robert Zajonc (see Appendix below) participated.

judgment the area in which the issue belongs (political, social, moral, esthetic, etc.) partially determines the relevant frame of reference. The fields of sociology and political science, though dealing in part with essentially the same phenomena, have maintained their separate identities because they have built different conceptual systems in terms of which phenomena are examined. Esthetic judgments, if they go beyond the level of "I know what I like," consist almost entirely of the selection and application of an elaborately artificial frame of reference.

Conditions for Behavioral Change

If the task of teaching is defined as an attempt to change behavior, the job appears easier in some respects and more difficult in others. Everyone is aware that some kinds of human behavior are especially resistant to change; at the same time, the behavioral approach focuses the teaching task, and thus makes it more nearly possible to select appropriate ways of carrying it out. One approach is to ask what are the major resistances to behavioral changes; the answer to this question enables us to formulate the conditions that facilitate change.

We are often resistant to changes in our behavior because our present ways of behaving are of value to us in providing a sense of security. Change necessarily means that we must abandon the old, secure support in favor of untried patterns. The child learning to walk must give up the familiar security of crawling and go through a period of wobbly, uncertain, often painful instability. The adult has been more or less secure in his habits for a long time and he has considerably less tolerance for such insecurity.

The adult is unlikely, therefore, to change any deeply-rooted behavior pattern unless the situation itself offers some security. A major condition for learning, then, is a generally accepting climate. This is by no means an easy prescription to follow; the academic personality is easily exasperated and seldom bears fools gladly.

A second general condition relates to motivation. The average adult student may have entered a program because he wants to meet people, or because this kind of intellectual activity confers status, or because he wants to improve things in his community, or for any of a variety of reasons. Whatever his particular motivation, it is unlikely to coincide with the aim of the instructor.

Indeed, failure to establish adequate coincidence in motivation may constitute a major obstacle to learning. With respect to the judgment objective this implies that the student must feel the need to relinquish the habit of applying long-held opinions and stereotypes in favor of a rational analysis of a situation or problem. The opinions he must abandon may be ones which have in the past been consistently rewarded, or which are held by groups whose approval and acceptance are important for him.

As is suggested later, the instructor can at various times alter the student's motivation by consistently rewarding rational behavior in the classroom group whenever it appears. There are several other techniques he can employ at appropriate points. One is suggested by some of the recent findings about the way in which people come to decisions. "Seeking" behavior is at its most intense before a decision is made, when "dissonance" is greatest. To use a homely example, before an individual decides to buy a car he "attends" to all the car advertisements, and reads them carefully; after he decides which car he wants, he ignores information about any car but the one he has decided on. This suggests that if the instructor deliberately creates dissonance by, for example, presenting the student with a considerable number of reasonable solutions to some single problem, he may create a situation which motivates the student toward adopting more rational modes of behaving in situations that require judgment.

A Model for Behavioral Change

Given the above observations, we can now consider some specific conditions for changing behavior. These are first presented as abstract statements of the essential features of a model for inducing behavioral changes, followed by illustrations for each of the content areas represented in the Project.

The individual must be aware of the inadequacy of his present behavior. Readiness to change a behavior pattern implies a recognition that it is inadequate in some way, and the required instructional conditions include: time, patience, and support of the learner.

Most of the cognitive processes which the Evaluation Project has considered important are complex sets of behaviors, and the range of inadequate responses is correspondingly great. To give students an opportunity to expose their present methods of approaching problems, for example, is on the face of it time-consuming. It is also, for the well-trained academic mind, exasperating. Interviews with teachers of adults invariably attest to the wounds of the spirit most of them experience faced with the ill-informed, cheerful opinionatedness that they often encounter in adult groups. The normal response is impatience and this is not calculated to encourage the student further to expose his errors. The other normal response, punishing sarcasm, is likely to inhibit changes altogether. It is during this phase of the process that the student most needs support, for the exposure of one's own inadequacies is painful.

The individual must have an opportunity to observe a clear example or model of the desired behavior, toward which he is being asked to change. Most instructors, to be sure, hope that their own intellectual behavior provides at all times a desired model for students, but there is considerable evidence that modeling of such subtlety is ineffective unless it meets two conditions: One is that the instructor himself must have a very clear idea of the particular behavior he presumably is modeling. The complexity of a process such as judgment, for example, suggests that at any given time, the instructor would be well advised to provide behavioral models for specific and relatively discrete parts of the process. The second imperative is the need for conscious recognition of this process on the part of the student. He needs to be made clearly aware that he is being shown a model of desirable behavior, of its components, and of the criteria that make it a model; otherwise he is not likely to understand the standards for evaluating the adequacy of his behavior.

The individual must have opportunity to practice the appropriate behavior. No one would expect to turn out a good tennis player if the teaching were restricted to description and demonstration of the correct form. The general assumption that intellectual skills can be taught effectively by demonstration alone is an equally pious hope.

Students make judgments, for example, about a wide variety of things everyday; to the extent that they use incorrect methods of arriving at these judgments, they constantly practice incorrect patterns, and need correspondingly more practice of correct patterns. Moreover, such practice needs to go on under conditions which permit the student to behave both in ways which are compatible with the model and in ways which deviate from it. He needs to have an opportunity to make *incorrect* responses, so that the instructor can make him aware of such tendencies. This process is, of course, very time-consuming. For example, the common device in higher education of assigning written exercises to enable the student to employ a particular skill can be effective only if the instructor provides detailed comment, and requires the student to make further attempts. Devoting group time to such practice has the obvious advantage that it allows the instructor to provide immediate correction when deviations from the model occur. Indeed, the opportunity for such immediate correction may account for much of the effectiveness of tutoring.

The individual must have opportunity for positive reinforcement (reward) of the correct behavior, and negative reinforcement of the incorrect. This principle follows from the previous one. During practice of the new behavior, the instructor needs to provide consistent reinforcement for the correct behavior, or the student will be uncertain about the adequacy of a particular response. Adults tend to take fewer risks than children, and are likely to be uncomfortable in situations that require new forms of behavior about which they are uncertain.

For example, adult programs that require several years to complete necessarily entail a long period of study before the student obtains any formal recognition (*i.e.*, a certificate). In such programs instructors need to find ways of rewarding small gains frequently throughout the period of study.

The individual needs an appropriately graded sequence of materials, appropriately graded in terms of both emotional and intellectual development. One implication of this principle is the well-recognized effectiveness of beginning with the relatively simple and moving to the increasingly complex. To try a new skill on materials which are discouragingly complex is likely to result only in frustration even for the well-trained and in the conviction that the desired behavior is too difficult to achieve.

A second corollary concerns the emotional impact of the materials. Many adult programs necessarily deal with content which is at least potentially threatening: child rearing, community conflict, and the like. To start with the least threatening material arouses the minimal defensiveness on the part of the student and maximizes the likelihood of inducing changes in his behavior.

Much remains to be done in this part of the Project: further exploration of principles derived from experimental data, the construction of a relevant framework by groups of behavioral scientists, and the creative elaboration and implementation of this framework by subject matter specialists. There is little doubt that if such work proceeds as planned this aspect of the Project could constitute important contributions to the theory and practice of higher adult education.

Some Illustrations of the Model

Following are some brief illustrations of the application of the above principles to some of the objectives in each of the content areas represented in the Project. As will be noted, not all the objectives are included here, and the procedures and materials described in connection with each of the objectives are intended as suggestive, not exhaustive, treatments of them. They are presented as indications of some of the work thus far done in this part of the Project and of the lines along which further consideration will proceed. (The objectives for each area mentioned here are specified fully in the appropriate sections of this report. See below pp. 43 ff.)

Political and Social Area-Interest. This is the only one of the major behavioral objectives of the Area which aims not at some cognitive change, but at the way a person feels about something, or his pattern of activity related to it. Consequently, the kinds of suggestions one can make about shaping the learning experiences in ways that will encourage the effects specified in the objective, depart from the model described above.

Almost any adult who shows up for a program dealing with political or social problems already has some interest in the Area, though it may be only idle curiosity aroused by a vigorous course title, or a feeling that he "ought somehow" to be interested in such obviously important problems. However, by the term "interest," we intend to convey a much more meaningful and enduring phenomenon. The crucial question is, why in this important area do people fail to develop the kind of active, searching pattern of interests we think they ought to have? We suggest below some possible reasons, and the procedures that take account of them.

First, participants are frequently overwhelmed by a pervasive feeling that the problems are so large and remote that there is nothing effective one can do. In planning the program the leader should therefore attempt to:

— make sure that the student is confronted with illustrations which emphasize the actual accomplishment of individuals or the part which local effort has played in large-scale social developments.

— make clear at some point in the program the relation between effective action and the possession of skills which can be acquired in the program.

Second, the student is often confronted with a bewildering confusion of reading materials and of other sources of information and guidance. This suggests that the program be arranged so as to:

— spend a considerable amount of time analyzing or otherwise dealing with information sources which the students ordinarily use—newspapers, magazines, etc.,—in such a way as to require participants to give deliberate attention to problems of evaluating the material and of developing a set of criteria to judge its reliability.

— utilize materials which many of the participants are not likely to know about but which would prove of continued usefulness, e.g., learned journals of a less technical nature accessible to laymen, European weeklies available in the United States, etc.

Third, many political and social problems are not only remote, but abstract; people have difficulty seeing the connection between large-scale social phenomena and their own lives. Therefore it is important to:

— include in the learning experience actual encounters with the real stuff of the problem, e.g., invite active politicians to discussions with the class, arrange for the group to attend a trial, or to tour blighted areas. The field trip often fails for children because they are not capable of asking questions about their experience; adults presumably have, or can be guided to develop, the background to do so.

— employ the inductive method occasionally in discussion of central concepts, e.g., present cases or specific social circumstances, and help the students themselves to formulate the concepts.

Political and Social Area—Relationships. To ask, how can we improve people's actual skills in discovering relationships, is to open up a most complex and significant field for exploration in adult education. Many of the earlier studies defined "intelligence" strictly in terms of this ability; Spearman's classic work used the term "education of relations" throughout. Thus, much of the doubt about the extent to which "basic intelligence," whatever that may be, can be changed, and the extent to which it is biologically fixed becomes relevant to an analysis of this objective. Perhaps the best basis for proceeding is to assume that as a very generalized ability the understanding of relationships is not subject to significant change, but that it can be improved very readily with respect to restricted, specific bodies of data, or problem areas, and that reliable evidence which would enable us to establish a clear dividing line between these two extremes is incomplete.

Also, to the extent that this objective includes the skills of classifying data or phenomena into appropriate classes, it describes what the psychologists call "concept formation," a very basic human ability which, some have argued, is really all that is involved whenever we are learning anything. We say that a person has learned the concept "conformity" when he is able to classify accurately certain ranges of human behavior into that category, etc. Fortunately, much attention has recently been given to studies of categorizing behavior, its varieties and its psychology.

At this early stage of the Project, therefore, we can do little more than suggest a few of the inferences from recent studies that are relevant to teaching problems.

First, political and social problems necessarily involve concepts of a high degree of abstractness. A considerable body of evidence argues that these are the most difficult concepts for people to recognize; we categorize objects and numbers much more readily.

Second, emotional attachment to the objects to be categorized is a primary source of inaccuracy in categorizing behavior. Thus, in a recent experiment, subjects performed much better in identifying a concept derived from certain combinations of geometric forms, than they did in identifying forms consisting of drawings of adult and child figures; they were distracted by the expressions on the faces, or by their sympathetic reactions to what seemed to be the human situations. We need not stress the significance of this principle, for education dealing with political and social problems. It underscores the great impor-

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tance of giving the student opportunity to practice this skill under conditions in which the instructor can identify and correct errors immediately.

Third, the political and social area is also particularly subject to those categorizing errors that result from the tendency to classify new experience on the basis of previous experience. This tendency accounts for many of the errors of perception and memory and helps to explain the pervasiveness of crude stereotypes characteristic of behavior in this area. This tendency poses a particular challenge in the selection of the materials presented to the student, inasmuch as these materials should aid the student to perceive that certain of his errors result from his attempt to develop categories based on an uncritical acceptance of past experience.

Political and Social Area—Judgment. In treating "judgment" as an educational objective, we shall define it (see page 63) as consisting of a relatively precise series of cognitive behaviors. Such a definition is helpful in clarifying the implications of the general principles outlined above, for achieving this objective. The examples below illustrate the significance of these principles as applied to the Political and Social Area.

First, making the student aware of the inadequacy of his present behavior: A group studying international relations might be instructed for the first few sessions to bring in clippings related to a particular problem. Each person (if the group is small enough) might be asked to state what he regards as the crucial issue in the material he has brought in. If there is disagreement, the instructor can help the group discover the basis of the disagreement. If the group comes to an inadequate view of the crucial issue, the job of the instructor is to help them see its inadequacy, either by skillful questioning or, more directly, by explanation.

Second, providing a clear model of the desired behavior: One might well present the basic model for such a complex skill as judging by using materials which will not arouse strong emotional involvements. For instance, the instructor could have the students read a series of articles on the Carolina craters, those mysterious indentations covering hundreds of miles of terrain. A collection of such articles exists, and each offers a different and persuasive interpretation of the origin of the craters. The instructor can easily provide a model for the analysis of argument, by demonstrating the inadequacies or questionable parts of each theory with this emotionally neutral material. As students develop skill the more emotionally loaded material can be introduced.

Third, providing appropriate opportunities for the student to practice the desired behavior: An instructor attempting to improve the student's judgment of historical materials may give him an historical question to investigate on his own, one about which there is still some doubt (e.g., where and when was the Republican Party founded?). Ideally, the results of the inquiry and the student's conclusion should be reported to the group in detail, so that the evidence on which he bases his judgment can be questioned.

Fourth, providing opportunity for reward and reinforcement of the correct behavior and negative reinforcement of the incorrect: This principle requires students be given an opportunity to practice in a non-threatening situation where "change" in the desired direction can be rewarded. For example, adult groups considering social problems often have great difficulty understanding how others see an issue. Most participants in adult programs are middle-class, for example, and fail to see the reasonableness of certain lower-class judgments. This calls for a variety of methods, such as the reading of imaginative literature, role playing, or actual participation in special groups. A group interested in community problems might thus be assigned to argue the side of a current community conflict opposite to the one they actually hold.

Fifth, providing an appropriate sequence or gradation of materials: A community program dealing with issues of city planning might best start with discussion of case material relevant to problems such as traffic and general design, rather than with more interesting, but much more threatening, problems of racial in-migration into neighborhoods, or re-development problems.

Community Participation Area—Interest. The problem of getting people interested is obviously not nearly so difficult in this area as it is in many of the others. The linkages between events in the community and many aspects of personal welfare are often so clear that interest in local affairs generally is widespread, at least among the middle-class in American cities. Whether such interest is more than a passive, newspaper-reader's curiosity is another question; a considerable body of evidence indicates that participation in community affairs is restricted to a very small percentage of the population. Some factors related to this situation, and a few suggestions for dealing with them, are given below.

First, the "go-fight-City-Hall" syndrome: many city dwellers who might otherwise translate their interest in local affairs to citizen participation feel defeatist about the success of any efforts to bring about change. Any material which describes successes in some detail might be helpful in overcoming these feelings. Even careful analyses of past failures, which point in the direction of learning what might work next time, may be useful.

Second, quite often people simply do not know about the availability of community resources, or how to choose reliable ones among those they do know about. Such factors tend to increase feelings of confusion or isolation. To provide a partial correction for these difficulties, field trips are an invaluable part of community programs, as is the programming of opportunities for students to meet with people who represent local resources.

Third, feelings of isolation and helplessness may also be decreased by stressing as a first response to difficulties those approaches which utilize analysis and focus on determining strategy.

Fourth, people are more "participation-oriented" if they realize that others share their feelings and aims. The isolation of modern urban life can be reduced by developing communication networks which strengthen common interest. Ingenious utilization of modern communication devices, for example, in ways such as those employed in Washington University's Metroplex Assembly, holds rich promise.

Community Participation Area—Relationships. Many of the difficulties described for the Political and Social Area apply here as well (see pp. 30-32 above). However, this area also has certain advantages which should be considered in planning curricula aimed at increasing the ability to see relationships. Some examples follow.

First, though their previous experience may have led citizens to establish a number of incorrect categorizing habits with regard to community affairs, the chances are that it has also led to the establishment of a considerable number of correct ones, since people tend to learn more accurately from direct experience than they do from that which is indirect or remote. Thus even though they may not have reflected on it particularly, the wealth of direct experience which students have had in this area permits the instructor to make effective use of inductive methods of analysis. He can plan his teaching so as to require students to develop their own statements of relationships among items of direct experience, and to generalize about the community processes they have participated in.

Second, in the community area, the individual citizen is, himself, more obviously and directly a part of many relationships which he is expected to generalize about. Motivation toward learning the complex skills involved in seeing valid relationships in this area may therefore be heightened, as compared with the motivation toward study of more remote national and international problem areas.

Third, however, there is a particularly strong negative factor, related to the advantages cited above, which constitutes an obstacle in the study of community affairs. Precisely because the individual's self-interest is so directly, and often so importantly, involved in community affairs, his categorizing behavior is frequently subject to serious distortion, as illustrated by the "sentry matrix." This name derives from the classification problem of the sentry who during wartime must decide in an instant how to classify an oncoming stranger: if he classifies him as a friend, he holds his fire; if he classifies him as enemy, he shoots. Note how he must figure the "payoff," the consequences of either classification:

	and stranger is friend	and stranger is enemy
If he shoots	He is unharmed and sorry	He is unharmed and a hero
If he holds his fire	He is unharmed and pleased	He is dead

Under these conditions he does not pay very much attention to subtle clues as to how to classify the stranger; faced with this much pressure, he shoots. Similarly, the householder faced with the problem of classifying a new neighbor as "desirable" or "undesirable" may make such a classifying decision as though he were in the sentry matrix. If the new neighbor is a Negro, the white householder will often react as if he believes that his property will lose all its value. When community programs deal, as they must, with issues which people percieve as thus directly relating to their own welfare, participants must be made conscious of their tendencies under pressure to act in terms of categories so over-simplified as seriously to distort reality.

Community Participation Area—Judgment. The suggestions related to this objective in the Political and Social Area are relevant to this area as well (see pp. 32-33 above). Note particularly, also, numbers 1, 2, and 4 of the cautionary notes following the specification of the objective for this area (pp. 97-98 below).

Community Participation Area—Values. Though this objective still requires considerable clarification (see p. 107 below) it is possible even at this point in our discussion to suggest in a very general way, some teaching devices that deserve exploration.

First, if the program is intended to cover material which will consistently and deeply involve the value systems of the participants, it would seem worth while to devote time at the early meetings to some exploration of values, as a topic in itself. At this point it would be especially useful to employ exercises devoted to demonstrating how shifts in perspective change value emphasis and to showing how values influence what different people "see" in the same situation. It is also important to plan exercises from the beginning that will aid participants to develop some skill in distinguishing fact from value. Hopefully, through such a process, the group may be able to arrive at a consensus on some ground rules which it will observe during its sessions.

Second, for this objective the caveat suggested above concerning the importance of an appropriate sequence of materials is clearly pertinent. If the leader begins a program with subjects for study that do not involve values to which participants have intense emotional attachments, he will minimize the danger of arousing irrevocable and educationally unprofitable value-conflicts. At the same time he will maximize the opportunity for presenting educationally effective models of behavior to deal with values, since these models will be demonstrated in connection with values that are not too threatening.

Third, since this is an area in which student resistance to change may be greatest, the instructor often enough faces some anxiety problems of his own. He can be helped by appreciating the wide individual differences among people in their basic ability to approach objectivity about their own value systems, differences which are documented so strikingly in the studies of authoritarian personality and in the more general studies of rigidity.

Community Participation Area—Action Skills. This objective, even more than the immediately preceding one, involves important elements other than cognitive skill. Fortunately, models for the improvement of these kinds of action skills have been worked on intensively in a number of studies and experimental programs. The experience and the long years of research put into the problem by the National Training Laboratory[5] should be adapted to the particular needs of the Community Participation Area, and such adaptation is already proceeding.

Moral and Ethical Area—Interest. In terms of remoteness from the person, this area is perhaps at the opposite pole from the Political and Social Area—everyone, whether or not he so identifies them, has moral and ethical dilemmas of one sort or another, and is thus necessarily interested in them.

The major difficulty, then, does not consist in any lack of interest, but rather derives from a lack of concern about employing a particular approach to problems in this area. Moreover, since this approach requires the sacrifice of the many gratifications of undisciplined argument and "bull-sessioning," it is often far more laborious and self-denying than our accustomed methods of handling such problems. Consequently, the teacher must find ways of making the desired behavior patterns rewarding to the students, even though there is a good deal of frustration and no obvious intrinsic reward immediately available from the desired approach.

Perhaps in this area more than any other it is therefore necessary consciously to utilize, as a means of demonstrating the rewards to be expected from a more rational and disciplined approach to moral and

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[5] A branch of the National Education Association, Division of Adult Education Service, the purpose of which is to develop leadership training programs, to conduct research in human relations and the training process, and to publish books and pamphlets in this field.

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ethical dilemmas, the tendency of students to invest the teacher with certain ideal attributes. As a corollary to this proposition it should be clear that it is possible to employ the value which students attach to the respect of the teacher as an intermediate reward for their increasing employment of the desired approach. This principle has at least three important implications for the instructor.

First, he must provide a rigorous model of the desired approach in all relations with the students; there can be no "do what I say, don't do what I do" pedagogical attitude.

Second, he must demonstrate consistently and convincingly that the disciplined model has very different but greater gratifications than the ordinary behavior with which people approach moral and ethical questions.

Third, he must find ways of acknowledging and rewarding day-to-day evidences of student improvement.

Moral and Ethical Area—Values. We are not considering here the vast problem, treated so often in the social sciences, of how people's values change. We are interested in the very different problem of helping students become more disciplined in their approach to their own and others' values.

One aspect of this problem is clearly in the domain of psychotherapy rather than education. Individuals differ greatly in the degree to which they can succeed in attaining objectivity toward such an important aspect of themselves as their values, and this difference is fundamentally attributable in large measure to aspects of personality which the educational process either finds inaccessible or avoids by preference. Consequently programs which focus primarily on the cognitive aspects of value problems might well try to be highly selective in admitting students. Failing that, such programs may need to enlarge their objectives, so that those students who can be expected to achieve very little on the primary objective may still get something useful from the experience.

The literature of social psychology abounds with evidence indicating that an individual's values are not separate, discrete acquisitions, but are, as we have pointed out, closely enmeshed with his group loyalties, and with his concept of himself. Indeed, in a very important sense, an individual's values are not aspects of his ego, they are his ego. The most important implication of this proposition for instructional methods is that if the student has any reason to feel that his values are being questioned, he will tend to feel that he is under censure as a person. Any pedagogical method, therefore, which relies on a frontal attack on value stereotypes known to be held by class members, must also plan some way of dealing with the inevitably resulting defensiveness. One safety device, of course, is to arrange to have any such attack arise from the material rather than from the instructor. The latter, in this case, can play a neutral role, or one of helping the student look at his own defensiveness, and its causes.

The significance of the framework within which most individuals hold or respond to values appears to be subject to much the same psychological laws as those which explain the perception of certain psychological events: judging musical tones, weights of objects, and so on. One can easily demonstrate with a group, for example, that a tone which one member judges high, another can be made to judge as low, depending on the reference point that has been set. By asking participants to judge some series of events as good or bad, from the point of view of someone very different from themselves, the instructor can demonstrate operationally the significance of shifting the perspective in judging social, as well as physical, phenomena. The possibilities of dealing with general approaches to values in such non-threatening ways need further exploration.

These instructional problems involved in dealing with values cognitively are also relevant to the relationships objective and the judgment objective in this area.

The Area of The Arts. One aspect of learning theory and the related experimental results seems specifically and particularly relevant to the teaching of the arts. The individual with trained sensibilities is often said to be "discriminating." In the case of the wine connoisseur, for example, such a term literally means that he can detect differences among a number of wines an unschooled palate would find the same. Psychologists have investigated with great thoroughness the process involved in training people to discriminate smaller differences in a whole range of stimulation. The degree to which these findings can be related to the problems of educating people to respond to differences among a series of paintings, for example, remains to be explored. We note below a few suggestive articles and reviews by the Gibsons, who are responsible for much of the recent work in this area.

Gibson, Eleanor J., "Improvement in perceptual judgments as a function of controlled practice or training," Psychological Bulletin, 1953, 50:401-31. A review of the literature.

Gibson, J. J., and E. J. Gibson, "Perceptual learning: differentiation or enrichment?" Psychological Review, 1955, 62:32-41.

Gibson, E. J., and J. J. Gibson, "The identifying response," American Psychologist, 1950, 5:276.

Evaluation Procedures

As indicated above, the early stages of this study were devoted to an exploration of the common objectives of programs of adult education, without regard for differences arising out of variations in the subject matter or content of particular programs. However, it soon became apparent that evaluation devices would need to be constructed for each of the four major areas. Consequently, further development in each of the areas proceeded in cooperation with a university center, offering adult programs in that particular area. Syracuse University was associated with us in the development of materials for the Political and Social Area; Washington University for the Community Participation Area; New York University for the Moral and Ethical Area and the University of Chicago for the Area of the Arts.

In each of the four content areas explored to date, substantial progress has now been made toward:

1. defining the area in terms of the essential concepts, issues, problems, facts and materials of special importance for adults;
2. identifying certain of the objectives of central importance for programs in that area;
3. defining a limited number of these objectives in behavioral terms;
4. developing, in a tentative form, the specifications for some of the instruments required to measure this behavior and, in a few instances, constructing preliminary models of such devices;
5. suggesting various possible additional types of instruments and procedures that would on a priori grounds appear to be promis-

ing methods for evaluating the behavior sought;

6. initiating small-scale try-outs of a few of the instruments so developed.

In the following sections of this report the results of this procedure are reported in detail for each of the four major content areas. This summary is offered as an initial report on a long-term project. The tentative detailing of objectives and the models of instruments presented below provide a framework for future development.

Part Two

THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL AREA

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Introductory Note*

There are numerous programs for adults that focus on broad political and social issues as the central object of study. These range from programs concerned with particular facets of contemporary national or international problems ("Politics, 1960") to those that deal with an analysis of general principles of social and political philosophy. Some of these programs place primary reliance on a series of guest lecturers; others depend exclusively on small-group discussions led by lay leaders. Many programs may draw primarily on the traditional disciplines of political science and economics; others may stress an integrated approach through the behavioral sciences. But all have in common certain characteristics that distinguish them from the typical undergraduate course in one or another of the social science disciplines.

First, most programs are organized in such a way as to highlight the social relevance of the lectures, discussions and readings rather than to present systematically the theoretical apparatus of a particular discipline.

Secondly, in their organization and presentation most programs in this area take cognizance of the fact that participants have in many cases already formed strong opinions about public policy with respect to the issues treated in the program.

Finally, for this very reason, most programs stress as a central objective, irrespective of content, the importance of enabling participants to make more informed and critical judgments about new problems and issues which they, as members of our society, may subsequently face.

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*Certain materials for this section were developed in cooperation with University College of Syracuse University, as arranged by Alan Knox, then Administrator of the University's Adirondack Conference Centers.

Content Objectives

For the purposes of adult education, we define this area as being composed of a series of broad, general problem areas which are relevant to modern social and political life, and which include a series of specific issues or problems. The following listing is, of course, a rough and ready one, but it serves to illustrate the desired approach.

The behavioral objectives are consequently assumed to relate to this kind of specification of the content objectives.

General Areas	Issues or Problems
1. Conformity and Dissent	Communism Censorship The Rebel in Society
2. Organization and the Individual	Communication in Large Scale Organizations The Organization Man Creativity in Large Scale Organizations Consensus Building Decision Making Civil Liberties Free Press
3. Impact of Change	Technological (Scientific) Change-Cultural Lag Population Explosion Urbanization (Suburbia)
4. Social Organization and Disorganization	Education Crime Juvenile Delinquency Divorce Family Aging
5. Power and Responsibility	States Rights Political Apathy Two-Party System The Individual and the State Leadership in a Democracy Diffusion of Power Public Responsibility of the Corporation
6. Economic Resources Allocation Distribution Stability	Budget and Welfare The Market and Social Control Inflation Conservation of Natural Resources Taxation The Farm Problem
7. Intra-Society Relations	Civil Rights In-Migrant Problem Church and State Labor-Management
8. Inter-Society Relations	National Self-Determination Underdeveloped Areas U. S.-Soviet Relations

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Behavioral Objectives

The five major behavioral objectives in this area may be thought of as composing a hierarchy, within which each objective presupposes the willingness and capacity implied in all that precede it, thus:

Objectives Relating to:		
Motivation	The individual develops new, broader and more intense INTERESTS in this area.	Interests
Cognition	The individual increases his KNOWLEDGE of facts, data, principles, concepts and major systems of ideas in this area.	Knowledge
	The individual increases his UNDERSTANDING OF RELATIONSHIPS among phenomena, hypotheses, and concepts or systems of ideas in this area.	Understanding of relationships
Decision	The individual increases his skill in CRITICAL JUDGMENT in this area.	Critical judgment
	The individual becomes more fully aware of, re-examines and modifies his VALUE system so as to make it more coherent, more nearly compatible with knowledge and understandings in the area, and one to which he can be more deeply (intensely) committed in view of the consequences of holding it with respect to issues in this area.	Values

Interest: Specification of Objective

The individual develops new, broader and more intense interests in this area. He demonstrates achievement of this objective by:

1. a) continuing to read widely in the field or beginning to read in new fields;
   b) increasing the level and scope of his reading in this field.
2. participating in activities to which he was previously indifferent or hostile.
3. seeking new learning experiences in this area.
4. initiating discussion and attempting to persuade others to share his interests in this field.
5. giving more time to thought about problems or issues in this area.
6. changing his perspective on familiar concepts, activities, etc., and developing new modes of thinking about familiar problems.
7. participating at a different level in activities in this area.
8. attempting to make independent judgments in these areas.

In evaluating this behavior it is important to note changes in the pattern of the participant's activity even though he may not increase the proportion of his total time and energy which he devotes to activities in this area. The pattern may change either with respect to the objects toward which he directs his activity, or with respect to the nature or level of the activity itself: learning, participating, taking creative action.

See pages 94 and 118 for further refinement of this objective in another area.

Interest: Measuring Achievement

It is not difficult to specify the dimensions of an instrument which would gather evidence of change in interests in this field.

1. To obtain evidence on the pattern of interests, the items should consist of simple statements of activities, including mental ones, which people who have an interest in the area might be presumed to engage in. Each group of items, in addition to being directed specifically toward some activity relevant to political and social problems, should also sample a variety of different types of human activity. The following classification has proved useful in establishing the range of activities that should be included:

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Items that imply a primary concern with THINGS.
Items that imply a primary concern with THOUGHTS.
Items that imply a primary concern with WORDS.
Items that imply a primary concern with ACTION.

Obviously, any activity may involve more than one of these, but let us assume that we can construct items in a way which makes clear which one is emphasized. An orientation toward things involves such activities as collecting, buying, displaying, etc. An orientation toward thoughts or ideas as may be interpreted as an interest in the theoretical aspects of a problem or issue or process; toward words, an interest in the descriptive or structural aspects; toward actions, an interest in the applied or practical aspects.

2. We need to have, in addition, some notion of the intensity of interest. We can ask, for each item, whether the person has engaged in this activity in the past month and looks forward to doing so often again, has done it but not in the past month, has never done it but thinks he might like to, or has never done it and doesn't want to. This would provide us not only with some indication of the importance a given pattern of activities has in the leisure-time life of the individual, but also with some measure of his exploratory drive and curiosity.

3. We need to sample not only intensity of interest, but level of interest. People will read articles about Kruschev in the newspaper as a consequence of a superficial interest in him as a "ham." Reading about him out of a concern for estimating his intentions is quite different. This is the kind of change in level which might reasonably be expected as an outcome of a course in this Area.

Since such an instrument will usually be administered to participants, both before and after a program, the results will provide a considerable amount of information about the effectiveness of the program in changing the pattern, the level, and the intensity of student interests in this area. For example, a person whose interests are mainly in action items before participating in some social affairs program, may afterward reveal increased interest in items of the "thought" character. Such a change is ordinarily regarded as a desirable outcome of a university program. Similarly, an increase in the number of items he marks as things he would like to do, even if no change in the pattern of activities has occurred, would also normally be interpreted as favorable. In general, this design gives some promise of measuring small changes, as well as gross ones;

and this is an important characteristic of any instrument intended for use in a variety of programs. (See also pp. 118-21 for a sample observation form relevant to this objective.)

Sample Test Items

Instructions: For each of the following activities, circle the letter

A - if it describes something you do often and would like to continue doing;

B - if it describes something you have done in the past month and would like to continue doing;

C - if it describes something you have done at some time prior to the past month but would not like to do again;

D - if it describes something you have never done, but think you would like to do;

E - if it describes something you have never done, and don't particularly want to do.

1. Read newspapers and magazines that deal with current world and domestic issues. A B C D E
2. Wonder about what makes a particular person tick. A B C D E
3. Collect clippings about particular social issues you are interested in. A B C D E
4. Read columnists in the papers who try to deal with life problems people write in to them about. A B C D E
5. Participate in local political party activity around elections. A B C D E

Knowledge: A General Note

In this context we mean by "knowledge" the facts, data, principles, concepts, and systems of ideas in the area. In a larger sense, of course, many people include in what they mean by "knowledge" the skills you will find described in the following subsection on understanding relationships. We find it more convenient, for analytical purposes, to separate the two. Unless instructors are sensitive to this distinction, those who are primarily concerned about helping students to perceive relationships among facts often teach for, and measure achievement of, memory of already established relationships instead. Thus, for students who have read Becker's book on the Delaration of Independence in a history course to answer correctly a question about the relation of 18th century English philosophical speculation to the doctrines in the Declaration speaks for their good memory and for their level of verbal understanding. It does not give us much evidence of their ability to discover relationships.

This, of course, is not to deny the usefulness of such recognitions; an ability to recall complex verbal formulations is a *sine qua non* for thinking about them further. The point that needs to be made here is not that the recognition of item knowledge is trivial, which it is not, but that it is different from other cognitive skills under discussion. Insofar as it can be defined behaviorally, it must be defined in terms of such verbs as "recognizing," "supplying," etc. Tests which sample this behavior are primarily tests of memory.

The important overlap between this objective and other objectives such as understanding relationships develops when one considers the problem of *teaching* facts, principles, concepts, etc. Thus, we accept in our teaching the principle that most people recall items of information better if the items are meaningful, that is if they are embedded in a context, or related to other things. Learning historical dates is a good example: learning them by rote results in much poorer recall than learning them in connection with other related events. Similarly, in our teaching we take account of the generally recognized fact that recall is also considerably better (though no one is yet quite sure how much better) when the student has met the facts in connection with some problem which he has had to work out for himself. This suggests that when the learning of facts is associated with the learning of the skills of seeing relationships, the recall of the former is itself improved.

But if the problem of teaching knowledge is rather more complicated, as indicated above, than many think, the third aspect of the objective, measuring achievement, is at least straightforward. The general models for testing recall are widely known and in use: true and false items, multiple choice items, essay questions, and so on. Though we do not expect to develop tests of general applicability for this objective, a subsequent report of this Project will include some discussion of the relative merits of the various formats for such tests and illustrative examples appropriate to each of the content areas.

Understanding Relationships: Specification of Objective

The individual becomes aware of an increasing range of possible connections among seemingly disparate phenomena. He demonstrates achievement of this objective by:

1. classifying different phenomena into appropriate subject classes and/or concept classes;
2. recognizing that the same phenomena can be classified in a number of different ways, some of which are more significant than others for a particular purpose;
3. discriminating among different kinds of relationships, e.g. causal, both related to same or other cause, co-variance, coincidence, pattern similarity, sequential;
4. recognizing the relation between the instance and the principle or concept;
5. formulating hypotheses to account for connections among phenomena;
6. applying concepts of one field to the interpretation of phenomena in another.

Understanding relationships requires that the individual be able to recognize a variety of connections among facts or even areas of knowledge; he must be able to supply a context, or at least to recognize the universe of discourse in which a given term is used; and he must be able to select or develop a general frame of reference appropriate to the phenomena to be related. This process involves both analysis and synthesis in that the student must be able to make distinctions that he was unable to make before and must be able to see uniformities that he had not seen before.

The relationships which the student identifies can be judged in terms of their validity, their significance and their appropriateness (utility) for a specified purpose.

Understanding Relationships: Measuring Achievement

Below are two models for instruments which measure the most important aspects of our behavioral objective. Model I is designed to obtain evidence of the student's ability to classify or categorize phenomena appropriately. Model II is designed to obtain evidence of the student's ability to distinguish among a variety of different kinds of relationships. (See also a third model, pages 91 ff., developed in connection with the Community Participation Area but applicable to this Area also.)

Model I

Started at ______________
Finished at______________

Instructions: Time is not a major factor in dealing with this problem. However, since it does have some relevance, please indicate at the top of this page the time you started and the time you finished.

Below you are given a series of numbered statements summarizing the news reported in the New York Times for Sunday, June 12, 1960.

Part I: Read through the statements and index and cross index each on the attached answer sheet opposite the appropriate heading, as if you were indexing it for library purposes. Use the minimum number of headings which will still clearly differentiate the material. To construct this index, merely insert in Column I the number of the statement opposite the subject heading to which it most clearly belongs. To construct the cross index insert in the "See Also" column (Column II) the name of any other heading which might also apply to the statement. (Statement 0 has been indexed and cross indexed on the answer sheet just to illustrate the procedure.)

Statement No. Statement

0. Abraham Lincoln shot while attending theater. Doctors say he is in critical condition.

1. On the eve of President Eisenhower's departure for his tour of the Far East, Japanese Leftists turned out in Tokyo for one of their biggest demonstrations against his visit there June 19 to 22. The sea of red flags that had engulfed Press Secretary Hagerty the day before spilled around the United States Embassy, the Diet building and Premier Kishi's private and official residences. Hand-lettered placards made violent threats against the President's person.

2. In a summary of the findings of the Second International Conference on Live Poliovirus Vaccines, specialists reported that the use of such vaccines might eradicate polio as a human disease. They noted "with the greatest of interest" the Soviet Union's campaign to stamp out the disease with an orally administered live vaccine, as opposed to the killed virus (Salk) vaccine in use in the United States.

3. Adlai E. Stevenson was reported to have approved the publication by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt of a statement to her that he was willing to make a third try for the Presidency if drafted. His statement was seen as the spark that could accelerate an intensive drive to capture delegates pledged to Senator Kennedy.

4. Following Friday's Appeals Court decision that upset existing procedures in the atomic power program, A. E. C. Chairman McCone called a special meeting of the commission for Monday. While not criticizing the ruling, he said it raised issues of great importance to the commission and industry in connection with public health and safety.

5. Soviet polar scientists believe that a tremendous depression cleaves the central land mass of Antarctica, and may even extend under the South Pole. And in acknowledgment of the roles played by Americans, Britons and Australians in bringing this to light, the Russians have named it the International Geophysical Year Valley.

6. A report issued by Morningside Heights, Inc., an organization of educational, religious and medical institutions, charged the city had slowed and weakened its assault on slum buildings. However, the report praised recent vigorous prosecution of housing cases and the increased referral of cases to the Rent Commission for further action.

7. A critical report, this one by a New York University study team, charged there was too much law and not enough medicine in the state's procedures for aiding workmen injured on the job. As a result of its year-long study, the team also made specific recommendations for changes in the Workmen's Compensation Law and in its administration.

8. In Anchorage, some 30,000 Alaskans were expected to turn out to greet the President as he makes his first visit to the new forty-ninth state. Officials have called for a big reception for him as a patriotic send-off on what is likely to be his last major overseas tour as President.

9. In a telegram to House leaders, the President urged them to use all their influence against threatened reductions in foreign aid funds. He said that the cuts voted during the week by a House subcommittee would "jeopardize our own security and the defense of the free world."

10. Vice President Nixon, in a talk before meeting with party leaders on a regional basis, called for Republicans to discuss their differences over Administration policies, but then fall in solidly behind their party's nominee and platform. This was his only reference to his differences with Governor Rockefeller, whom he did not mention by name.

11. Tourists in London were provided colorful relief from the gray weather with the traditional Trooping the Color ceremony. Tourists and Londoners alike said that Queen Elizabeth, straight-backed in the sidesaddle on her chestnut mount, never looked more a proper Queen. The ceremony marks her official birthday.

12. The Cuban Government ended foreign management in the Havana hotel business by seizing the American-operated Habana Hilton and Nacional hotels. The seizure order charged that the American operators had failed to bring in enough tourists "through their ample connections in the United States."

13. Public support to eliminate overcrowding in the city's prisons was being sought by Correction Commissioner Kross. The condition has been reduced substantially in the six years since she became head of the department,

but she warns that it is still dangerously high.

14. Six young Americans mingle with Tokyo rioters.
15. Khrushchev rule is firm, the British say.
16. United States tests rockets as message links.
17. Duplication of single missile cost $16,000,000.
18. Soviet radio mocks Hagerty-Eisenhower talk.
19. Soviet respite follows uproar over the U-2.
20. Depressed areas in 3 states get Federal aid.
21. Soviet economist veers from Marx labor theory.
22. German youth panel hails ties to the West.
23. Europeans awaken to trade split's depth.
24. Dewey declines post as a G. O. P. delegate.
25. Britain may base strategic bombers in U. S.
26. Danes delight in friendly United States envoy.
27. California votes show power of the aged.
28. Montgomery tells of "hatred" in Red China.
29. Death rate high for older men in state hospitals.
30. Ruins of 2,000 B.C. found in Pakistan.
31. Jews reported insecure in Arab countries.
32. Symington finds United States growth too slow.
33. Israelis gird for loss of Argentine amity.
34. Nature of matter explored with new research.
35. Argentina ousts Governor of Cordoba Province.
36. "Fair trade" bill abandoned until next Congress.
37. Indian police bar Sikhs from Delhi.
38. Congress nears action on new minimum wage.
39. Blue Cross curbs urged for some hospitals.
40. Lebanon votes on President, Parliament today.
41. Louisiana weighs proposed ban on obscenity.
42. Rusk discusses medieval attitude on epilepsy.
43. U. S. census total approaches 180,000,000.
44. Beach pollution continues in city limits.
45. Dominicans here join pro-Castro pickets.

Answer Sheet

Classification Subject Heading	Column I	Column II
	Statement Number	See Also:
National News	0	People Mentioned, Crime
International News		
Local News		
People Mentioned		
Political		
Economic		
Financial		
Crime		
Arts		

Answer Sheet (Continued)

Classification Subject Heading	Column I	Column II
	Statement Number	See Also:
Other: (To student: List any categories which you think should be added to cover these materials adequately)		

Directions: Now suppose you are to give a speech on international communism. Which news stories would you think it important to read? List the Numbers of statements ______________________________.

Part II: Listed below are several systems of classification which might be used in indexing or arranging the contents of this newspaper. Imagine that you have the job of arranging a system of classification for indexing the content of the New York Times for one year. Consider the following types of classification and then answer the questions below.

Types of Classifications[*]

1. Chronological (News classified by dates)
2. Topical (News classified according to topic or concept, for example; civil rights, strikes, the election, etc.)
3. Geographic (News classified according to locale where it happened, for example; Detroit, the South, France, etc.)
4. Subject Matter (News classified according to broad areas, for example; politics, economics, the arts, etc.)
5. Names (News classified according to names of people involved)
6. Type of Article (News story, editorials, book reviews, comics, etc.)
7. Length of Article

Questions:[**]

1. Suppose a student comes to you to obtain names of senators cur-

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[*] In constructing this exercise it is, of course, possible to add to or vary this list in any desired way to require a more sophisticated level of behavior.

[**] In constructing this exercise it is, of course, possible to vary the questions in such a manner as to obtain a more sophisticated level of understanding about alternative modes of classifying for alternative purposes.

rently serving in the U. S. Senate. Which classification would you advice him to use? ______________
(write number)

2. Suppose someone wanted to make a speech about social influences on art. What classification would you advise him to use?

____
(write number)

3. Suppose someone wanted to test the hypothesis that most newspapers favor the same party in an election. Which classification would you advice him to use? ______________
(write number)

4. Suppose some years later a writer asked how to look up information about who had won the Nobel Prize in 1960. Which classification would you advise him to use? ______________
(write number)

5. Suppose this same writer asked how to find more information about one of the prize winners. Which classification would you advise him to use? ______________
(write number)

6. Suppose some years later a student of history asked for help in getting information on the exact dates on which various uprisings occurred in the emerging republics in Africa. Which classification would you advise him to use? ______________
(write number)

The model illustrated below for measuring the student's ability to distinguish among different kinds of relationships samples three different questions about relationships. The format could of course be varied accordingly, though we have chosen not to do so in the interest of simplifying the pure mechanics of the exercise. Items 1 and 2 raise the general question, "Do x and y vary together?" Items 3, 4 and 5 raise the general question, "Will variable x be greater under condition A or B?" Item 6 raises the general question, "In a specific situation (condition A) would you expect variable x or variable y to be greater?"

Model II

Instructions: Each of the questions below is followed by four answers given by different people. Place a check mark (√) in front of the answer which you think is the best.

1. Is an increase in the number of unemployed generally associated with a change in the amount of personal and social maladjustment?

___ Sure, an increase in the first is usually associated with an increase in the second.

___ Sure, an increase in the first is usually associated with a decrease in the second.

___ Not really, sometimes there appears to be a connection between the two things, but it is more or less accidental.

___ You can't really say, there is not enough knowledge to be sure.

2. Is an increase in the bureaucratization of industry associated with a change in the size of the new middle class?

   ___ Sure, an increase in the first is usually associated with an increase in the second.

   ___ Sure, an increase in the first is usually associated with a decrease in the second.

   ___ Not really, sometimes there appears to be a connection between the two things, but it is more or less accidental.

   ___ You can't really say, there is not enough knowledge to be sure.

3. Under which of the following conditions would you expect the greater amount of social discontent and irrationality among proprietors of small business?

   ___ When there is an effectively competitive free private enterprise economy.

   ___ When the degree of monopoly is high and rapidly increasing in the economy.

   ___ Social discontent and irrationality among proprietors would be about the same whether there's a lot of competition or a lot of monopoly.

   ___ You can't really say, we just don't know enough about the relation, if any, between irrationality and the economy.

4. Under which of the following conditions would you expect the greater amount of social discontent and irrationality among members of the lower classes?

   ___ When the opportunity and hopes for improving one's position in life are about like they are now in the U.S.A.

   ___ When the real opportunities are very small, and when there's very little hope or desire to improve one's position.

   ___ Social discontent and irrationality among members of the lower classes would be about the same when things are like they are now and when there's no hope and no opportunity to improve one's position.

   ___ You can't really say, we just don't know enough about the relation between discontent and opportunity or expectations.

5. Under which of the following conditions would you expect the mobility of labor to be greater?

   ___ In an all-around perfectly competitive labor market.

   ___ In a labor market where employers have a lot of monopoly power over the hiring of labor.

   ___ Mobility of labor would be about the same whether you had a lot of competition or a lot of monopoly in the hiring of labor.

   ___ You can't really say; we just don't know enough about the relation between mobility of labor and the nature of the labor market.

6. Which would you expect to increase more, the real income of owners

of bonds or of owners of stocks, during a ten-year period of rising prices?

___ Real income of bond-holders

___ Real income of stock-holders

___ On the average, both would probably increase by the same amount.

___ Sometimes it might be one and sometimes the other; you can't really predict these things; we just don't know enough about it.

Judgment: Specification of Objective

The individual is increasingly able to make critical judgments about problems or issues in this Area. This ability includes the ability to identify crucial issues. He demonstrates achievement of this aspect of the objective by:

1. stating such issues;
2. ranking various statements of issues according to their relevance (i.e., he is able to distinguish the central issue or issues from peripheral issues and to distinguish both of these from irrelevant matters);
3. stating the presuppositions involved in accepting a particular issue as critical;
4. identifying among a number of statements the assumptions which must be made in order to accept a particular issue as the crucial one;
5. avoiding or refusing to accept irrelevant issues as if they were crucial.

This ability also includes the ability to analyze an argument. The individual demonstrates achievement of this aspect of the objective by:

1. citing evidence relevant to the issue or issues;
2. identifying the relevance to particular issues of statements offered as evidence;
3. assessing the validity of evidence insofar as he: makes or recognizes distinctions between fact and opinion, evaluates or can rate the alternative sources or authorities of particular evidence, evaluates or can rank the weight or significance of particular evidence;
4. pointing out or identifying gaps in the argument;
5. stating or recognizing statements of alternative hypotheses that would account for a given situation (condition, evidence or conclusion);
6. formulating or recognizing statements of probable consequences of a given situation (condition, trend, conclusion or course of action).

Further, this ability includes the individual's ability to arrive at a conclusion consistent with his own analysis. He demonstrates this aspect of the objective by:

1. supporting his position with valid evidence or selecting such evidence from among statements supplied;
2. stating or identifying the values on which his position is based;
3. stating or recognizing the major argument or arguments (im-

plied evidence and/or value position) in conflict with his position.

Last, this ability includes the ability to deal with non-rational elements in a problem situation. The individual demonstrates this aspect of the objective by:

1. labelling, identifying and classifying these elements accurately;
2. manipulating these elements (a) in formulating or recognizing appeals that are appropriate to persons who might be expected to have different motives, interests or values; (b) in formulating or recognizing the plans of action which are most effective insofar as they take account of differences in motives, interests and values of others.

(See also pages 125-26 for a discussion of this objective in a related area and some of the qualifications about devices for measuring its achievement.)

Judgment: Measuring Achievement

In testing adults there is a particular need to provide challenges for the exercise of judgment which make some sense to them and seem important. We have therefore concentrated on developing a series of exercises built around case materials of various sorts.

A general model for the construction of such cases to test the judgment ability is given below. Fifteen such cases are available in a preliminary draft. Like many other constructions at this stage of the Project, these are to be regarded as tentative. (See p. 22 for a list of cases available.)

For other cases which might be useful for gathering evidence of judgment ability in this content area, see those included in the Judgment section of the Community Participation Area (pages 97 ff.) and the Moral and Ethical Area (pages 181 ff.).

Each case will consist of the statement of a problem or issue which involves a real dilemma, followed by a series of statements, responses to which will reveal both the individual's particular value pattern and his capacity to analyze a situation and to make a decision compatible with his own analysis.

Hence, in constructing the exercise it is important to pick a situation (a) that admits of differences of opinion even among experts; (b) that nevertheless involves the application of certain principles on which experts do agree; and (c) which is the subject of widespread misconceptions among the uninformed or prejudiced.

Secondly, in constructing the statements following the case it is important to include some statements that are wrong or may be wrongly applied (so that progress can be measured in terms of the participant's success in avoiding these crude, but common, types of errors).

Third, it is important to construct the statements in such a way as to provide opportunity for individuals to reveal a consistent, critical and analytical approach despite differences in their basic value position.

Fourth, it is necessary to construct the statements in such a way that it is possible to interpret the meaning of any response no matter how much or in what way it diverges from the expected or desired response, i.e., so that it is possible to score every possible response in terms of (a) the value position it represents and (b) its logical correctness or incorrectness, and, if incorrect, the nature of the logical fallacy involved in the response.

Fifth, the statements should sample all the behaviors specified in the list of behavioral objectives (see preceding section), though any program may wish to use only one or a few parts of several cases.

Finally, each individual's response should be scored as follows:

A. Logic:
   1. Number of statements correctly marked;
   2. Crude errors: number of statements marked as supporting one position when they should have been marked as supporting the opposite position;
   3. Failure to see relevance: number of statements left blank that should have been marked;
   4. Failure to see irrelevancies: number of statements that were marked that should have been left blank.

B. Attitudes and Values: Range of considerations regarded as decisive (each statement will be coded for the value position it represents and the number of each type that a student selects will be reported).

C. Sensitivity to motivation of others.

D. Flexibility in taking into account new factors in a situation.

Illustrative Model: The Johnstown Case

One of the members of the Johnstown School Board has charged that the art teacher is a Communist. Various people have testified—see Exhibit A below. One board member stated he would not hire this Communist to pump gas. Another pointed out that you should not fire people because of their political beliefs. The teacher's record shows that he formerly belonged to three Communist organizations on the Attorney General's list. Tonight the Board will vote on a motion to recommend that the Principal dismiss him.

What do you think should be done in this case?

Exhibit A

> Those who reported a ground for suspicion were asked to tell what the ground was. Below are some sample responses.

"He is always talking about world peace."
—Housewife

"He does not attend church and talked against God. He is always against local politics."
—Housewife

"I suspect it from his conversation and manner. He was well educated and had a high disregard for the mentality of others."
—Lawyer

"I saw a map of Russia on a wall in his home."
—Locomotive Engineer

"His activities in distributing literature about the United Nations."
—Housewife

"He wrote his thesis in college on Communism."
—Dentist

"He aimed all his talk toward betterment of people through government ownership of property."
—Foreman

"He is a radical who wanted to change everything in the country—it fits the picture."
—Farmer

"Just his slant on community life and church work. He is not like us."
—Bank Vice-President

"He was strongly in favor of the Hollywood group who were taken up as Communists and objected to their conviction."
—Stockbroker

"I just knew. But I wouldn't know how to say how I knew."
—Farmer

"I saw a CP Membership card in his wallet."
—Prostitute

"He didn't believe in Christ, heaven, or hell."
—Building Contractor

"He brought a lot of foreign-looking people into his home."
—Housewife

"He's against almost everything done in the United States. His ideas are not those of a liberal but a fanatic. He voices ideas with abandon."
—Accountant

"When I was collecting for the United Fund Drive and asked a man for a donation, he began raving about war and Korea."
—Housewife

"He avidly defends the underdog and explains the reasoning behind Communist moves."
—Manager of Business

"During World War II I used to say Russia was our enemy and he got mad at me."
—Merchant

"He gave me a radical-sounding paper to read—that we should all be equal such as the leaves on a tree are equal."
—Housewife

"Very aggressive along certain lines. Wanted to be a leader but not interested in money."
—Insurance Agent

"He had a foreign camera and took so many pictures of the large New York bridges."
—Housewife

1. To test the ability to identify crucial issues:

Pattern

Include 10-12 items testing 1.1:
the ability to scale various statements of issues according to their relevance. (Items should range from statements of central issues to peripheral and irrelevant, (a) including some quite wrong statements that only a very badly informed person would select and (b) including a range of value positions. As constructed it includes a test of the ability to exclude irrelevant issues and the ability to identify the central issue.

Illustration

1.1 Directions: The following statements could conceivably be challenged and debated in connection with this case, but some are more important than others. Check the five statements you think it is most important for the School Board to discuss in making its decision.

___ 1. Capitalism is superior to Communism as an economic system.

___ 2. Communists should not be allowed to teach in our schools.

___ 3. Communists should be free to express their opinions, like anyone else.

___ 4. Communist doctrine has definite implications for art and art theory.

___ 5. Any community has the right to restrict the activities of members it considers dangerous to its security.

___ 6. The Attorney General's list is undemocratic.

___ 7. There is an important difference between a "fellow traveller" (deeply interested in Communism) and a member of the Communist Party.

____ 8. Our children should not be taught by atheists.

____ 9. Youngsters cannot be expected to detect and see through the propaganda of a trained Communist.

____ 10. Our nation is founded on the principle that there is a God.

____ 11. The teachers of our youth should be typical members of their community, above suspicion of any kind.

____ 12. Membership in the Communist Party implies a dedication to the violent overthrow of the American Government.

____ 13. The School Board has the right to dismiss any teacher, or any other employee, for any reason it considers a good one.

____ 14. A public-school teacher is a government employee, and can expect to keep his job only as long as he agrees with government policy.

____ 15. No person should be dismissed whose competence is proved.

1.12. Statements 1-15 above are all relevant, in some sense, to the present case. Discussion of some of them, however, would not help very much in making an intelligent decision on this case. Which three would you consider least important to this case? (Write the numbers in the blank)

Statements number: ____, ____, and ____.

1.13. In determining whether or not the teacher should be dismissed, which of the following questions is the most important to be answered? (check one)

____ 16. Is he a Communist?

____ 17. Is he interested in Communism?

____ 18. Does he preach Communism to his students?

____ 19. Is he good at teaching art?

____ 20. Does he discharge his total responsibilities as a teacher satisfactorily?

____ 21. Is he unpopular in the community?

____ 22. Is he a reputable person?

Pattern

Include 3-5 items testing 1.2 the ability to identify assumptions which must be made in order to accept a particular statement as the crucial issue or problem.

Illustration

1.2 Consider the statement of issues in Column I below. Before each statement in Col. I write the number of the one or more beliefs in Col. II which a person would have to accept in order to make that statement of the issue.

	Col. I.—Issues	Col. II.—Beliefs
____ A.	"The real issue is whether or not this man is competent."	23. Communism is not dangerous.
		24. A teacher's beliefs don't have any real influence on students.

Col. I.—Issues

___ B. "The most important question to decide is whether or not he's a good artist and can teach art."

___ C. "The real question is whether or not this teacher has un-American ideas."

Col. II.—Beliefs

25. A Communist has prejudices that prevent him from being really competent.

26. A teacher's qualifications for a particular job are the most important factors in deciding to hire or fire him.

27. A teacher's knowledge of the subject matter he teaches is the most important factor to take into account in deciding to hire or fire him.

28. Communist doctrine has definite implications for art theory and art.

29. Parents have a right to protect their children from contact with things they don't believe in.

30. Teaching is different from some other kinds of jobs, a teacher has to be like Ceasar's wife—above suspicion.

Pattern

Include 3-5 items testing 1.3 the ability to identify assumptions which must be made in order to accept a particular statement as evidence for a particular conclusion.

Illustration

1.3 Each statement in Column I below could be used as a reason for dismissing the teacher, provided that a person accepted one or more of the beliefs in Column II and regarded it as obviously true and not in need of discussion. Before each question in Column I write the number of the belief or beliefs in Column II which a person would have to accept in order to offer the statement in Column I as a reason for dismissal.

Col. I.—Reasons

___ A. "I wouldn't hire this Communist to pump gas."

___ B. "He wrote his thesis in college on Communism."

___ C. "His ideas are not those of a liberal but of a fanatic. He voices ideas with abandon."

Col. II.—Beliefs

31. Our children should not be taught by atheists.

32. The teachers of our youth should be typical members of their community.

33. The art teacher is a Communist.

34. There is a God.

35. There is no important difference between being interested

Col. I.—Reasons

___ D. "He does not attend church and talked against God."

___ E. "He explains the reasoning behind Communist moves."

___ F. "He brought a lot of foreign looking people into his home."

Col. II.—Beliefs

in Communism and being a member of the Communist Party.

36. Communists should not be allowed to teach in our schools.

37. A public-school teacher must agree with government policy to keep his job.

38. Something can be told about a person's political beliefs from his appearance.

39. Anyone who associates with foreigners is a Communist.

2. To test the ability to analyze an argument:

Pattern

Include 10 items testing 2.1 the ability to identify the relevance of evidence for a particular issue.

Alternative Method

Relevance to the broad issue may be tested by directing the student to identify, by different symbols or by checking in two different columns, arguments for, and those against, a proposal. This differs from the illustration below in that the illustration enables the tester to specify each issue more narrowly, whereas the alternative may be a little more economical in allowing the tester to include all arguments that are necessary in part 3 below.

Illustration

2.1. Check any of the following statements which you think help in judging whether or not the teacher is a Communist.

___ 40. "I saw a map of Russia on a wall of his home."—Locomotive Engineer

___ 41. He was well educated and had a high disregard for the mentality of others.

___ 42. "I saw a Communist Party membership card in his wallet." —Prostitute

___ 43. He objected to the methods employed in convicting known Communists.

___ 44. Three times he has won the award as the best teacher in our school system.

2.12. Some of the arguments below favor dismissing the teacher, some favor dismissing him only if he is proved to be a Communist.

In the blank before each statement write:

A — if you think it is a reasonable argument in favor of dismissing the teacher without further investigation;

B — if you think it is a reasonable argument against dismissing him on the basis of the evidence against him so far.

(Leave other statements blank)

___ 45. Capitalism is superior to Communism as an economic system.

___ 46. Communists should be free to express their opinions, like anyone else.

___ 47. Any community has the right to restrict the activities of members it considers dangerous to its security.

___ 48. There is an important difference between being deeply interested in Communism and being a member of the Communist Party.

___ 49. Youngsters cannot be expected to detect and see through the propaganda of a trained Communist.

___ 50. The teachers of our youth should be typical members of their community, above suspicion of any kind.

___ 51. Membership in the Communist Party implies a dedication to the violent overthrow of the American government.

___ 52. A public-school teacher is a government employee, and can only expect to keep his job as long as he agrees with government policy.

___ 53. Three times this teacher has won the best teacher award in our school system.

___ 54. A teacher's qualifications for a particular job are the most important factors to consider in deciding to hire or fire him.

Pattern

Include 15 items testing 2.2 the ability to judge the validity of evidence, of which 5 items test 2.21 the ability to distinguish fact from opinion.

Illustration

Instructions: Some of the statements in the preceding group are facts that everybody could agree are true and some might be proved false. However, there might be considerable disagreement about other statements because they are really matters of opinion that cannot be proved either true or false. In the blanks below, write the number of any statements which you think are matters of opinion that can never really be proved either true or false

Statements no. ___, ___, ___.

Alternative Method

The student could be asked to identify by different symbols or by checking in different columns, statements which illustrate different kinds of fallacies.

(Note that in either method the statements should include some errors or irrelevancies to give participants who do not think clearly, an opportunity to "go wrong.")

Pattern

In the 15 items testing 2.2 the ability to judge the validity of evidence include 5 items which test 2.22 the ability to evaluate the source or authority of particular evidence,

> (Note that in the illustration below, sometimes the source of the statement is crucial and sometimes the content is crucial in deciding on which is more or less valid.)

Pattern

and 5 items which test 2.23 the ability to evaluate the weight or significance of evidence.

> (Note: In this exercise, items testing 2.22 and 2.23 appear in the same group so that the student is not made too conscious of the crucial element to look for. In that way we can evaluate better the kinds of errors he makes.)

Illustration

2.22 and 2.23. Instructions: In each of the following pairs of statements check the statement which you think is the more damaging evidence that the teacher is a Communist. Leave both statements blank if you think one is just as damaging as the other or if neither one is really damaging.

___ 55. A locomotive engineer says, "He was in favor of Communist government for this country."
___ A professor of political science says, "He was in favor of a Communist government for this country.

___ 56. A housewife says, "He is always talking about world peace."
___ A building contractor says, "He didn't believe in Christ, heaven or hell."

___ 57. A prostitute says, "I saw a Communist party membership card in his wallet."
___ A banker says, "He wrote an article advocating government ownership of industry for a magazine."

___ 58. A neighbor said: "I saw a map of Russia on his wall."
___ A fellow teacher said: "He was well educated and had a high disregard for the mentality of others."

___ 59. A worker said: "He aimed all his talk toward betterment of people through government ownership of property."
___ A lawyer said: "He has been very active in distributing literature about the United Nations."

Pattern

Include 5 items testing 2.3 and 2.31 the ability to identify gaps in the argument.

(Note: an alternative technique for testing this skill consists in asking the respondent to select from a list, the particular things it would be most important to know about in order to make a thoroughly reasoned judgment on this case. Such a list should, of course, include several quite irrelevant items.)

Illustration

2.3 Instructions: For each of the following statements of evidence write:

A — if it is important as it stands;

B — if it might be important if more were known about the subject of the statement;

C — if it could not be important no matter how much more were known about the subject of the statement;

___ 60. "He wrote his thesis in college on Communism."

___ 61. "I saw a CP membership card in his wallet."

___ 62. "He does not attend church and talked against God."

___ 63. "I just knew. But I don't know how to say I knew."

___ 64. "He was strongly in favor of the group of actors and artists in Hollywood who were convicted as Communists and he kept objecting to their conviction."

2.31 Instructions: Which two of the following would you find most decisive in deciding whether or not statement 64 above was really important evidence? (check two)

___ 65. He has been very active in certain clearly subversive groups.

___ 66. He criticized people who thought members of this group should be fired.

___ 67. He objected to the method used in convicting this group.

___ 68. He has objected to practically every conviction of alleged Communists on the ground that Russia and Communism really are not threats.

___ 69. He has criticized the Congressional Investigating Committees on the grounds that their procedures destroy basic rights.

___ 70. He has openly advocated government ownership of railroads.

Pattern

Include 5 items testing 2.4 the ability to identify alternative hypotheses to account for a given situation and 5 items testing 2.5 the ability to identify probable consequences of a given situation or policy.

Illustration

2.4 and 2.5 Instructions: Below are some conclusions that readers of this case have arrived at. For each conclusion write

A — if you believe that it is a sound conclusion and is supported by the material presented in the case;

B — if you believe it is not a sound conclusion in light of the material presented in the case;

C — if there is not enough evidence to decide whether it is sound or unsound.

___ 71. The art teacher is actively disliked by a number of people in the community.

___ 72. The art teacher is very aggressive in stating his views and beliefs on a great many issues.

___ 73. The art teacher is a very intelligent and mature individual.

___ 74. The art teacher probably is an authority on Russia and Communism.

___ 75. Many people in this community identify communism with issues and actions which they dislike.

___ 76. The art teacher is a very poor classroom instructor.

___ 77. If the teacher is dismissed on this flimsy evidence people with liberal views in the community won't be so ready to express their ideas freely.

___ 78. If teachers like this are dismissed on account of their ideas, civil liberties will be threatened for others.

___ 79. If the teacher is kept, his ideas will corrupt some of the most impressionable students.

___ 80. If this teacher is dismissed on the basis of the case against him so far it will probably be harder to hire good teachers in this community.

___ 81. If this teacher is kept other teachers in this school are likely to pay less attention to the opinions of parents and the rest of the community.

3. The ability to arrive at a conclusion consistent with his own analysis:

Pattern

Include opportunity for the student to 3.1 support his own position with valid evidence and 3.3 to identify the major arguments against his own position.

Illustration

3. If you had to decide this question on the basis of the information given so far would you vote in favor of (check one)

___ 82. dismissing the teacher

___ 83. keeping the teacher

3.1 In your opinion which of the following are the most persuasive arguments in favor of dismissing him. (check one or more)

___ 84. Communists should not be allowed to teach in our schools.

___ 85. Communists should be free to express their opinions, like anyone else.

___ 86. Any community has the right to restrict the activities of members it considers dangerous to its security.

___ 87. Youngsters cannot be expected to detect and see through the propaganda of a trained Communist.

___ 88. No person should be dismissed whose competence is proved.

___ 89. A Communist has prejudices that prevent him from being really competent.

___ 90. Teaching is different from some other kinds of jobs; a teacher has to be like Caesar's wife—above suspicion.

___ 91. There is no important difference between being interested in Communism and being a member of the Communist Party.

___ 92. Three times he has won the award as the best teacher in our school system.

___ 93. A locomotive engineer says, "He was in favor of Communist government for this country."

___ 94. A prostitute says, "I saw a Communist party membership card in his wallet."

___ 95. He has been very active in certain clearly subversive groups.

___ 96. He has objected to practically every conviction of alleged Communists on the ground that Russia and Communism really are not threats.

3.3 Which of the above statements (84-96) are in your opinion the most persuasive arguments for keeping the teacher?

Statements no. ___, ___, ___, ___.

4. The ability to deal with non-rational elements in a problem situation:

Pattern

Include 5 items testing 4.1 the ability to identify and classify these elements.

Illustration

4.1 Each of the types of testimony makes use of a particular form of appeal. Read each of the following statements and mark it.

A — if it represents "Guilt by Association";

B — if it generalizes that disliked people are guilty of other things;

C — if it condemns people because they are different and strange;

D — if it represents a bandwagon effect;

E — if it equates communism and progressive or radical views;

F — if it assumes guilt without evidence.

___ 97. He didn't believe in Christ, heaven, or hell.

___ 98. He's against almost everything done in the United States.

___ 99. He voices ideas with abandon.

___ 100. I saw a map of Russia on a wall in his home.

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___ 101. I just knew. But I wouldn't know how to say how I knew.

___ 102. I would not hire this communist to pump gas.

___ 103. He belonged to three organizations on the Attorney General's subversive list.

___ 104. He brought a lot of foreign looking people into his home.

___ 105. Just his slant on community life and the church work. He is not like us.

Pattern

Include 5 items testing 4.2 the ability to manipulate these elements. One could ask the student to indicate the most probable reactions of different people and the most probable explanation of their reactions. Alternatively one could ask the student to indicate which one or more of the arguments he would use if he were arguing the case before a particular type of audience.

(This pattern not illustrated in this model. See page 135 for an illustration in another exercise of the same type.)

Values

For this Area, this objective is yet to be explored and reported on in the future. (See introductory statements and the section on Values in Part IV, pp. 140 ff., for a report on the development of the objective in the Moral and Ethical Area.)

Part Three

THE COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION AREA

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Introductory Note[*]

The nature of adult programs in this area poses several difficulties which do not ordinarily occur in the other areas. Most of these arise from certain issues concerning the relation of action itself to education. Thus, many university programs assume that increased civic and political activity of almost any type (voting, circulating petitions, joining groups, etc.) can be taken as evidence of the success of an educational program.[**] Further, it is not always clear whether the primary objective of programs in this area is to bring about changes in the behavior of individual participants or to influence, indirectly at least, the specific outcomes of large problem situations in the community.

In the original statement of objectives in this area the term "participation" was employed in such a way as to suggest that the immediate outcome of a program should be "action." Members of later conferences disclaimed action per se as the appropriate function of an educational group. It is clear that action, as such, may be a measure of a program's success in stimulating interest and in increasing motivation, but, in itself, it does not reveal anything about the success of the program in achieving the objectives relating to cognition, values, and skills. However, most administrators of community programs argue that if a program in this area does not lead to more effective participation (i.e., action), then something is wrong either in the educational process or in the community. When more effective community participation does not occur, the analysis of objectives and the exercises recommended here should enable a program leader to diagnose some of the causes of failure.

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[*] Certain materials for this section were developed in cooperation with Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri, as arranged by Eugene I. Johnson, Director, Civic Education and Television Activities.

[**] In discussing objectives in the Community Participation Area, it is to be understood that the term "community" may refer to a neighborhood, city or metropolitan area and that different programs may focus on any one or more of these "communities." In addition, it should be clear that the Community Participation Area is not intended to include programs concerned with what is sometimes referred to as the "national community" or the "world community." These latter programs are encompassed in the Political and Social Area.

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As to whether or not the program should be judged in terms of its impact on the participants or the community at large, it should be noted that the educational program may change the community climate in such a way as to make it increasingly favorable to certain kinds of action. For instance, the program may provide indirect support to particular groups that might otherwise have disappeared; or the response of community leaders to knowledge that such a program exists may itself reduce obstacles to action in the community. However, once a program decides on its target (*i.e.*, whether it is going to deal with community leaders or with the general public), it should state its objectives in terms of the particular changes to be aimed at in the behavior of *participants in the program*. Further it is recognized that indirect changes in other groups, or in the community at large, can be accomplished only as participants, acting through other groups of which they are a part, change the focus of such groups, which in turn act on the community at large.

In regard to action objectives it should be noted further that adult education programs may be planned in close alliance with administratively separate groups who have responsibility for particular community activities or problems. Such an alliance may strengthen both the educational program and the other more action-oriented programs. However, in the analysis of objectives which follows it is assumed that the educational program itself should not be used as a source of the action groups.

Finally, it is especially important to make certain decisions regarding the clientele of any educational program in this area. Some programs may be directed particularly toward helping people who occupy (or are expected to occupy) leadership roles in the community. For these a "civic leadership training program" (stressing "human relations and action skills") could be offered. For other participants, the objectives relating to cognitive behavior and to values may be relatively more important.

Content Objectives

As a field of knowledge this area is the one peculiarly appropriate to adult education, which has for decades placed considerable stress on the relation of the citizen to his local community. For the purposes of the Project, we have defined the content involved as being composed of major areas of concern, in which specific problems may be stated, and a series of separable types of knowledge which are to be sought with respect to each of the areas of concern. The statement of areas of concern outlined below is to be regarded as the specification of the content objectives; the statement of types of knowledge is to be regarded as furnishing the framework for a behavioral definition of the knowledge objective (see page 68 below). The simultaneous employment of these two axes can provide the program planner with a systematic framework identifying the appropriate boundaries and foci of emphasis of a particular program.

	Areas of Concern	Related Problems
1.	Land Use Transportation and Communications Housing	Urban Renewal Traffic Public housing Zoning
2.	Government and Public Services Health and Welfare Services Education Law and Law Enforcement	Problems of the handicapped Water supply Air pollution Metropolitan government Juvenile delinquency
3.	Social organization and differentiation Production, consumption and work Political participation	In-migration and out-migration Intergroup relations Problems of the older citizen Tensions among religious or racial groups Citizen roles in a bureaucracy Problems of movement of industry The education of the consumer Problems of work identification
4.	Cultural values Home and Family Recreation and Leisure	Cultural resources Changing conceptions of the function of the family Recreational facilities

Areas of Concern	Types of Knowledge					
	History	Problems	Decision Making Processes	Resources	Trends	Models
Land Use						
Transportation and Communication						
Housing						
Government and Public Services						
Health and Welfare Services						
Education						
Law and Law Enforcement						
Social Organization and Differentiation						
Production, Consumption and Work						
Political Participation						
Cultural Values						
Home and Family						
Recreation and Leisure						

Behavioral Objectives

The behavioral objectives in this area can be grouped according to concern with:

Category	Objective
Motivation	Interests
Cognition	Knowledge of facts and principles Understanding of relationships Judgment
Evaluation	Values Appreciation
Action	Communication skills Diagnostic skills Organizational and administrative (including leadership) skills

Effective functioning at any level presupposes the willingness and/or capacity to perform the operations involved in preceding levels.

Interest: Specification of Objective

The individual develops broader and/or more intensive interests in the community.[*] The following behaviors constitute evidence of the achievement of this objective:

1. The participant seeks new learning experiences (courses), reads more widely and gives more time and thought to problems in this area.
2. He develops or increases his vocabulary for dealing with problems in this area.
3. He changes his perspective on familiar concepts, activities, etc., i.e., he develops new modes of thinking about familiar problems in this area.
4. He acquires symbols of identification with the community (newspaper clippings, stickers, affiliation with organizations, etc.).
5. He identifies with, or seeks out, individuals who already possess these new interests.
6. He attempts to persuade others to share in his interests (initiates discussion).
7. He participates in activities to which he was previously indifferent or hostile.
8. He participates in activities at a different level (e.g., learning, participating, initiating action).

In judging whether or not the participants' interests are being affected by a program it is important to note that change may occur either with respect to the total time and effort devoted to the area, or with respect to the pattern of activity undertaken in the area. Secondly, a program may be aimed at affecting either the level (intensity) and/or the scope (breadth) of interests in the area. Three scales for judging changes in interest are implicit in this statement of the behavior and criteria; namely, intensity of interest (degree of involvement), breadth or scope of interest, and extent to which interests are shared with others. (Note that behaviors 1 through 4 may be carried on independently while behaviors 5 through 8 necessarily involve group action.)

Interest: Measuring Achievement

See pp. 49-51 above for a statement of the rationale of an interest test and pp. 118-21 for a suggested observation form.

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[*] See page 118 for a partial refinement of this objective in another area.

Sample Test Items

Instructions: For each of the following activities, circle the letter

A — if it describes something you do often and would like to continue doing;

B — if it describes something you have done in the past month and would like to continue doing;

C — if it describes something you have done sometime prior to the past month but would not like to do again;

D — if it describes something you have never done but think you would like to do;

E — if it describes something you have never done and don't particularly want to do.

1. Read about a local economic problem in the home town newspaper. A B C D E
2. Get ideas for the program of a local organization I'm a member of. A B C D E
3. Have a file of road maps and other geographical information about my local area. A B C D E
4. Read columnists in the local newspaper who just report on community events and gossip. A B C D E
5. Participate in local political party activity around election time. A B C D E

Knowledge: Specification of Objective

The individual acquires more facts and information about the community. (See pp. 52-53 above for a general statement about the knowledge objective.) The special emphases for this objective in the Community Participation Area are spelled out below. Evidence of achievement of this objective can be secured by asking the individual to demonstrate that:

1. He knows the significant history of the community.
2. He is aware of major problems in the community and the issues that grow out of these problems.
3. He can identify the actual decision-making processes of the community: neighborhood organization, general social structure and formal governmental structure; he knows about the different levels and loci of action and decision-making, knows that the process differs for different problems, and can identify that level or process which is appropriate for dealing with a particular problem or issue.
4. He knows about the various resources (human, cultural, esthetic, economic, governmental) as these are relevant to particular purposes.
5. He can identify major trends or forces both within the community (i.e., economic, population, governmental) and external to it (i.e., national policy, industrial developments, etc.) which affect community condition and goals.
6. He has some concept of possible models of the "good community." The term "model of the good community" is to be interpreted to include both the physical lay-out of the community and the functional organization or structure of the community. Unlike statements 1 through 5, which involve objective information, statement 6 necessarily involves values and/or alternative definitions of "good." (See below pp. 107-108.)

Presumably changes in knowledge can be judged both in terms of the quantity of information gained and the level of sophistication of that information.

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Understanding Relationships: Specification of Objective

The individual becomes aware of an increasing range of possible connections among seemingly disparate phenomena. The following behaviors constitute evidence of achievement of this objective:

1. The individual is able to classify different phenomena into appropriate subject classes and/or concept classes.
2. He recognizes that the same phenomena can be classified in a number of different ways, some of which are more significant than others for a particular purpose.
3. He discriminates different kinds of relationships, e.g., causal, both related to the same or other cause, co-variance, coincidence, pattern similarity, sequential.
4. He recognizes the relation between the instance and the principle or concept.
5. He formulates hypotheses to account for connections among phenomena.
6. He applies concepts of one field to the interpretation of phenomena in another.

Understanding relationships requires that the individual be able to recognize a variety of connections among facts or even areas of knowledge; he must be able to supply a context, or at least to recognize the universe of discourse in which a given term is used; and he must be able to select or develop a general frame of reference appropriate to the phenomena to be related. This process involves both analysis and synthesis in that the student must be able to make distinctions that he was unable to make before and must be able to see uniformities that he had not seen before. In regard to the community this process entails the ability to relate various facts of community life to some central concepts and to relate new data to these concepts. This in turn implies that the student must become increasingly aware of the extent to which a given problem can be located in a context of general urban problems and larger social problems and the extent to which a given problem is unique to a particular community. For example, the student may see the problem of overcrowding in a particular school system as related to the general problems resulting from increases in the population, as related to general problems of changing patterns of land use and hence of a changing relationship between tax income available for the support of schools and school needs, and as related to a specific problem of in-migration and acculturation in a particular community.

The relationships which the student identifies can be judged in terms of their validity, their significance, and their appropriateness or utility for a specified purpose.

Understanding Relationships: Measuring Achievement

There are presently available two models for instruments which measure achievement of the most important aspects of the relationship objective and an experimental third model has been developed for testing certain hypotheses about the extent to which this skill can be generalized (see pp. 91 ff.).

Model I

See the sample exercise above on pp. 55-60 of the Political and Social Area. This exercise may easily be adapted to the requirements of the Community Participation Area by substituting contents of a local newspaper as specified in the content objective for this area, and by asking questions relevant to particular community problems.

Model II

The second model (see pp. 60-62) is also readily adaptable. Some exercises following the model and appropriate for this area are given below:

1. "Juvenile delinquency" involves a number of different types of behavior, and it makes a difference what type it happens to be.
    - ___ Sure, but not enough difference to matter—it's all anti-social behavior by minors.
    - ___ It makes some difference, but only as an indication of how we ought to handle it.
    - ___ It makes an important difference, not only to the social scientist in constructing theories, but for the courts.
    - ___ It makes an important difference, but we don't know enough to be sure about what the difference means.
2. Is an increase in the number of city freeways associated with a change in the automobile accident rate in the community?
    - ___ Sure, an increase in the first is usually associated with an increase in the second.
    - ___ Sure, an increase in the first is usually associated with a decrease in the second.
    - ___ Not really, sometimes there appears to be a connection but it is more or less accidental.
    - ___ You can't really say, there is not enough knowledge to be sure.

Model III

In this as in other fields there are many issues concerning the extent to which a study of one problem or area will enable the student to identify relations in other problems or areas, and alternatively the extent to which a generalized test of the ability to see relationships will measure improvements occurring in a program dealing with a specific area of content. Several exercises have now been developed along the lines of the formats presented below to provide a means of assessing these hypotheses.[*]

A. Model for testing general level of ability to understand relationships.

Instructions: Complete the following series by choosing the correct number or word which bears the same relationship to the members of the series as the other elements in the series.

1) 1 - 2 - 4 - 7 - 11 - ___

a) 14; b) 15; c) 16; d) 17; e) 18

2) Father - Son - Mother - Daughter - ______

a) Brother - Sister; b) Aunt - Uncle; c) Cousin - Nephew;
d) Grandmother - Grandfather

Instructions: Complete the following by choosing the word or number which best satisfies the equation.

1) Green is to Grass as Blue is to ___

a) Eye; b) Sad; c) Sea; d) Tie; e) Field

2) Stop - Go - Cease - ___

a) Desist; b) Commence; c) Continue; d) Persevere;
e) Allow

3) Cause - Effect - ______ - ______

a) Beginning - End
b) Start - Stop
c) Go - Stop
d) Initiate - Culminate

B. The following are suggested as models for testing the ability to deal with certain kinds of relationships.

Instructions: The following events—numbered 1-10—occurred under a variety of different circumstances. You are to consult the list given below and decide which statement best explains and/or clarifies the event in question. Write the letter of the statement best explaining it before each event.

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[*] Exercises constructed by Peter Nathan of the Department of Psychology, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri.

A — One event causes—is directly responsible for—another.

B — One event is related to another event by virtue of the fact that they are both related to or caused by another, third event.

C — When one event occurs, another one also inevitably occurs, though neither is directly responsible for the other.

D — When one event occurs, another may happen to occur, though they are unrelated.

E — Two events resemble each other, though they are not related.

F — One event causes another, which in turn causes another.

G — Two events are totally unrelated.

___ 1) When it thunders, lightning also occurs.

___ 2) When foreigners enter a town, the crime rate goes up.

___ 3) When you have full employment, you will have inflation.

___ 4) The Republicans have been in office directly before every major depression.

___ 5) A girl broke a mirror; three days later she broke her leg.

___ 6) As the temperature rises, humidity rises.

___ 7) As the temperature rises, the thermometer rises.

___ 8) The democratic form of government creates a need for patronage.

___ 9) In an All-Star baseball game, Ted Williams hits a home run; so does Stan Musial.

___ 10) Our city is in the North; it has had no difficulty integrating its schools.

Instructions: Now that you have determined the manner of relationship existing between/among the events described in the statements above, you are to decide with what frequency the events given above can be logically expected to occur.

Beside the letter describing the manner of relationship existing between the events, you are now to place a Roman numeral, corresponding to the following frequencies with which the events (in the indicated order) are expected to occur:

I — The events have occurred or will logically occur only once in the manner indicated.

II — Although the event happens significantly more frequently than once, it does not happen most of the time.

III — The event happens most of the time these elements are combined.

IV — The event happens every time the elements are combined.

C. Model for testing facility in hypothesis building.

Instructions: In this test, you will be called on to perform two related tasks both having to do with hypothesis—or explanation—building.

Several descriptions of events are given below. Each of them is followed by four statements, all of which appear to explain it. Only two of the four do logically explain it. You are to choose these two statements and put an "X" in the blanks preceding them.

You are also to add a logically correct explanation of your own to each description, in the space provided.

1) A young Negro engineer moved to the suburbs, but he was unable to find anyone who would sell him a house.

___ a) They were afraid his habitation would lower real estate prices.

___ b) They did not like the color of his skin.

___ c) There were no houses available.

___ d) They were afraid his and their children would play together.

e) ____________________

2) It is a fact of civilization that all large cities are built on or very near considerable bodies of water.

___ a) City founders had to use the water routes to come upon the city site.

___ b) Water is a necessity in the maintenance of life, and large cities need much water.

___ c) The industry of large cities needs much water.

___ d) Large cities need large areas of water for the recreation of their inhabitants.

e) ____________________

3) If X causes Y, which is followed by Z, then:

___ a) Y is caused by X.

___ b) X causes Z.

___ c) Z is caused by Y.

___ d) X comes before Z.

e) ____________________

4) If X causes Y, and Y causes Z, and W causes Y, then:

___ a) X causes Z.

___ b) Z could cause W.

___ c) W could cause Z.

___ d) Z could be caused by X.

e) ____________________

D. Model for testing the application of concepts to new or unusual circumstances.

1) Instructions: Imagine that you are a scientist. As such, you are primarily interested in utility, practicality and effectiveness of function. You are, above all, objective. Your task, in this exercise, is to apply concepts you, a scientist, use every day in scientific endeavor to the confrontation and possible solution of the following problems. Remember, you are a scientist and your approach to these problems will be distinctly scientific.

   Problems:

   a) Purchasing an automobile.
   b) Getting married.
   c) Choosing a name for a child.
   d) Voting in a city election.

   Task: Write a brief essay for each problem and discuss meeting and solving each problem as you would if you were a scientist. You are to apply scientific concepts to the solution of nonscientific problems.

2) Instructions: Imagine you are a philosopher, a theoretician. As such, you are primarily interested in the ultimate meaning of things. Above all else, you are wise, rational and temperate.

   Using the directions given in #1, apply the concepts and ways of thinking about things that you would customarily use as a philosopher to the confrontation of the following problems.

   Problems:

   a) Purchasing a new refrigerator.
   b) Getting married.
   c) Naming a dog.
   d) Voting in a Presidential election.

   Task: You are to apply philosophic concepts to the solution of non-philosophic problems.

E. A model sampling a combination of skills in understanding relationships. This test is capable of testing a broad spectrum of attributes involved in the understanding of relationships, and as such is essentially a combination of six techniques in one. Its special assets are the broad range of behavior tapped, its ease in administration, and in taking and scoring it. The subject is asked to select, with the aid of a key which is identical for all items, the one best answer to each of six questions about a phenomenon. The test consists of several groups of items (such as the one below) about a number of quite different phenomena.

Answers to question 1 give evidence of ability to classify.

Answers to question 2 give evidence of ability to classify and differentiate.

Answers to question 3 give evidence of ability to make "predictions."

Answers to question 4 give evidence of ability to identify the type of relation.

Answers to question 5 give evidence of ability to recognize hypotheses.

Answers to question 6 give evidence of ability to apply hypotheses.

Instructions: You are to answer questions 1-6 below about the key word.

Key Word: DOG

1) Choose the adjective which you think would best explain or clarify the key word to a bystander who knows nothing about it.

   Dog: a) Animal; b) Canine; c) Carnivorous; d) Mammal; e) Loyal.

2) Choose the adjective upon which the two indicated persons would best agree, on the basis of all their possible encounters with the key word, to describe the key word.

   Dog: Mailman } a) Loyal; b) Carnivorous; c) Friendly;
   Owner } d) Dangerous; e) Loud.

3) This indicates the frequency with which such an indicated event might be expected to occur. The choices are:

   a) Only once—thus, the instance.
   b) A few times.
   c) Several times.
   d) Most of the time—almost always.
   e) All of the time—invariably.

   Dog: Bites Cat: a) A; b) B; c) C; d) D; e) E.

4) This indicates the kind of relationship that is thought to exist between the two indicated elements of the description.

   The choices are:

   a) The first element causes the second.
   b) The second element causes the first.
   c) The two elements are related by virtue of their relationship with a third element.
   d) The events are coincidental.
   e) None of the above correct.

   Dog: Bites Mailman: } a) A; b) B; c) C; d) D; e) E.
   Dog: Bites Cat: }

5) Choose one of the five words or phrases as being the most logical explanation for the behavior description given at the beginning of the item.

   Dog: Bites Cat: a) Hungry; b) Thirsty; c) Tired; d) Instinct;
   e) Mean.

6) Choose one of the five words or phrases upon which both interested parties can agree as being the most reasonable explanation for the behavior.

Dog: Bites Cat: Mailman } a) Thirsty; b) Tired; c) Mean;
Owner } d) Hungry; e) Training

Other Suggested Models

In addition to the general models described above, we shall in subsequent work on this Project explore a number of specific suggestions for utilizing certain types of devices and materials that are especially suited, though not necessarily unique, to the Community Participation Area. These include maps, films, field reports, etc. about the local community. For example, using very simple materials, the student could be presented with a map having data about a typical metropolitan area superimposed on it. The map would indicate racial and ethnic distribution of population, density, income levels, etc. The student would be asked such questions as: 1) In the absence of planning what kinds of developments would you anticipate in the city described above? 2) Which of these developments would you encourage? How? 3) Which of these anticipated developments would you try to alter? What would you do in an attempt to alter them?

Alternatively, employing quite sophisticated anthropological or sociological concepts, the student could be presented with a description of a problem situation in an hypothetical community, and then asked to describe an analogous problem in his own community or in an organization of which he is a member. The student's responses would be evaluated on the basis of the degree to which he is successful in identifying essential common elements in the two situations.

Judgment: Specification of Objective

The individual is increasingly able to make intelligent decisions about problems or issues in this Area. The following behaviors constitute evidence of the achievement of this objective:

1. The individual can identify the crucial issue or issues in a problem situation.
2. He can formulate alternative hypotheses for dealing with a problem or issue.
3. He can assess the relevance and validity of evidence and arguments relating to these hypotheses.
4. He can formulate or recognize the probable consequences of a particular position or course of action.
5. He can assess alternative choices in terms of conflicting values (esthetic, moral, economic, etc.).
6. He can arrive at a conclusion consistent with his own analysis which at the same time takes account of the major arguments (evidence and/or value position) in conflict with his own.
7. He can re-examine his own judgment in terms of a different frame of reference (contradictory evidence and/or values).

The individual's behavior can be evaluated in terms of the relevance, accuracy, completeness and significance of the considerations which he brings to bear in making an independent decision about a particular issue or problem.

Certain general qualifications and cautions have been suggested in regard to this objective. Of particular importance are the following:

1. The importance of defining the objective in such a way as to include among the test situations some in which the most appropriate behavior is to suspend judgment as a means of evaluating the extent to which students are able to recognize the adequacy of evidence.
2. Closely related to the above, the recommendation that throughout the definition of the objective such phrases as "tentative conclusion," "practical decision," etc., be employed in order to emphasize the importance of not forcing the student to a hasty conclusion that prevents revision and re-evaluation in the light of new evidence.
3. The necessity of recognizing in the definition of the objective that in some problem areas analysis only is required, while in others decisions of various levels constitute an essential element of the judging process. For instance, objectives of most programs include the analysis or understanding of an object—a text, a problem, a painting, etc. In some programs the objectives further include the evaluation of and decision about a position. And still others may emphasize in their objectives the

capacity to make a decision and to act on it. Thus to be maximally useful, the definition of behaviors for this objective must include what are commonly thought of as the processes of critical thinking, of judging and of decision-making.

4. The importance of a distinction between the capacity to make a judgment and the willingness to act on that judgment. Representatives of most programs concur in the view that the educational program contributes only to certain elements in the total process of judging and acting.
5. The significance of non-rational (extra-logical) factors in the process of judging. Though such influences are always operative, some evaluation devices will need to be constructed that minimize the distortions attributable to such influences while other devices may be needed to assess changes occurring in students with respect to these factors.

Judgment: Measuring Achievement

The model presented below is identical with that presented in the preceding section, pp. 66-76. Indeed, most of the cases developed for the Political and Social Area can be used interchangeably with cases developed for this Area.*

For fuller discussion of the rationale of the model see especially pp. 64-66.

Illustrative Model: A Case of Juvenile Delinquency

Late one evening, three seventeen-year-old boys saw a drunk sleeping on a doorway and decided to "roll" him. As the boys were going through the drunk's pockets he awakened and started to fight off his attackers. In the scuffle, one of the boys hit the drunk with a length of pipe. The boys started to run, but the scuffle had attracted the policeman on the beat. A warning shot fired in the air brought all three to a halt. The boys were taken to detention, and the drunk went by ambulance to City Hospital. The next day the drunk died without regaining consciousness.

The local newspaper editor got hold of the story. It was learned that all three boys came from broken homes located in the poorest part of town. All had been in Juvenile Court at least once before, and one had spent a year in the State Industrial School. The following day an autopsy revealed that the drunk had died from a blow on the head.

As it stands, these boys would appear in Juvenile Court, which has jurisdiction over all offenders under 18, and, if convicted, they would be committed to a training school where they would be held in custody until sufficiently rehabilitated to return to the community. The newspaper is urging that the Juvenile Court have jurisdiction only over offenders under 16, so that these boys could be tried in the regular Criminal Court and "get what they deserve." If the age limit is lowered and they are convicted as adult offenders, they would probably be sentenced to prison for life. "Adult criminal acts deserve adult punishment," is the newspaper's view. "Let's stop this 'go easy' policy with young hoods."

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*See p. 22 for a list of cases available.

What do you think? Should the age limit be lowered so the policy with juvenile delinquency can be tougher?

1. To test the ability to identify crucial issues:

Pattern

Include 10-12 items testing 1.1:
the ability to scale various statements of issues according to their relevance. (Items should range from statements of central issues to peripheral and irrelevant, (a) including some quite wrong statements that only a very badly informed person would select and (b) including a range of value positions. As constructed it includes a test of the ability to exclude irrelevant issues and the ability to identify the central issue.

Illustration

1.1 Directions: The following questions could conceivably be debated in connection with this case. On the left, check the five you think it would be most important to debate in connection with this case. Although all the questions below are relevant to this case in some sense, discussion of several of them would bring us no nearer an intelligent decision here. On the right, check the three you would consider it least profitable to discuss in connection with this case.

Most Important			Least Important
___	1.	Should the severity of the punishment be related primarily to the seriousness of the offense?	1. ___
___	2.	Is there really such a thing as a juvenile who not be rehabilitated sufficiently with the expectation that he will live a law-abiding, productive life?	2. ___
___	3.	Can society be held responsible for the inadequacies of the early family experience of many juvenile offenders?	3. ___
___	4.	Should parents be held responsible for the acts of their children?	4. ___
___	5.	Should murder be considered any less serious a crime when it is committed by a juvenile?	5. ___
___	6.	Can a society function adequately if its standards are not enforced through punishment?	6. ___
___	7.	Is there a way to prevent broken homes?	7. ___
___	8.	Are the youths of this generation any worse than we were as kids?	8. ___
___	9.	What causes juvenile delinquency?	9. ___
___	10.	What can prevent juvenile delinquency?	10. ___

Most Important — **Least Important**

___ 11. Should the action of a community with respect to the control of crime and juvenile delinquency be based solely upon the seriousness of the crime, or must the situation and rights of the criminal also be considered? 11. ___

___ 12. Are delinquency and crime primarily related to emotional factors? 12. ___

___ 13. What is the best deterrent against criminal behavior? 13. ___

___ 14. Are the best interests of the community served by the severe punishment of the lawbreaker? 14. ___

___ 15. What is the relationship between what is legal and what is just? 15. ___

Directions: Of the five questions which you checked on the left above as most important in deciding this case, circle the number of the one which you consider the most crucial of all.

Pattern

Include 3-5 items testing 1.2 the ability to identify assumptions which must be made in order to accept a particular statement as the crucial issue or problem.

Illustration

1.2 Directions: Your choice of the most relevant questions above involves an assumption about what is actually the crux of the case. Here is a list of five such assumptions. For each one, write in the blank space the number of the question or questions in the preceding item #1.1 which would probably be of greatest concern to someone making that assumption. (You may list more than one in any case.)

___ 1. The crux of the case is the fact that any crime deserves a punishment in consonance with its seriousness.

___ 2. The crux of the problem is that society must be protected from those who will harm its members.

___ 3. The crux of the case is that delinquents act as they do only because of some emotional deprivation.

___ 4. The crux of the problem is that juvenile delinquency is a result of deprived environmental conditions.

___ 5. The crux of the problem is to rehabilitate the criminal, while impressing upon him the consequences of his actions and thus protecting society from subsequent actions of that sort.

___ 6. The crux of the problem is that the law must function to maintain standards of behavior for members of the community.

Directions: Which statement do you believe to be the crux of this problem?

Write the number of that statement. _____

Pattern

Include 3-5 items testing 1.3 the ability to identify assumptions which must be made in order to accept a particular statement as evidence for a particular conclusion.

(This pattern not illustrated in this model; see p. 69 for an illustration in a similar exercise.)

2. To test the ability to analyze an argument:

Pattern

Include 10 items testing 2.1 the ability to identify the relevance of evidence for a particular issue.

Illustration

2.1 Directions: Below are various views people have expressed about this case. Which ones argue that these boys should be treated as adults? Which argue that they should be treated as juveniles? Check in the appropriate column.

As Adults	As Juveniles		
______	______	1.	"We don't condemn an illiterate man who never had the opportunity for an education, so how can we condemn the antisocial individual who was never raised to act socially?"
______	______	2.	"How can we allow a man who has taken the life of another in an act of violence to get off lightly for any reason?"
______	______	3.	"All three youngsters in this case, like many delinquents, are suffering from feelings of persecution and delusions of grandeur."
______	______	4.	"Severe punishment is the only method known for discouraging and preventing criminal behavior."
______	______	5.	"If I came from a home like theirs, I think I would hate people, too."
______	______	6.	"When I was a kid, I got punished bad for taking pennies from my old lady's purse. All it taught me is that if you're going to get whipped anyway, you might as well steal dollars."
______	______	7.	"When a baby breaks his bottle, you don't punish him, you comfort and assist him. These babies need our help, not our vengeance."
______	______	8.	"The ability of an individual to distinguish right from wrong is fully developed by the age of 17."
______	______	9.	"Any drunk who sleeps in doorways is asking for trouble and deserves whatever he gets."
______	______	10.	"The apple doesn't fall far from the tree. Show me a kid hoodlum, and I'll show you a lousy parent and a rotten home."

As Adults ______ As Juveniles ______

______ ______ 11. "Studies show that the majority of multiple offenders among juveniles go on to become adult criminals unless they are locked up."

______ ______ 12. "Teach the parent that when his son steals, the father pays plenty, and he'll see to it that the kid is kept off the street."

______ ______ 13. "We shouldn't give up on these kids."

______ ______ 14. "This is ridiculous. The victim is lying out in the street disembowled, and people are scurrying about shouting, 'It's the fault of the parents.' Nuts."

______ ______ 15. "The function of the law is to set the standards of behavior for the average member of the community."

______ ______ 16. "The only way in which an antisocial individual will learn to change his behavior is by learning that the consequences of some behaviors can be painful."

Pattern

Include 15 items testing 2.2 the ability to judge the validity of evidence of which 5 items test 2.21 the ability to distinguish fact from opinion.

2.21 "Severe punishment is the only method known for discouraging and preventing criminal behavior." Which of the following quotes support this statement? Which ones contradict it?

Support ______ Contradict ______

______ ______ 1. "There is no way of predicting the future behavior of any individual."

______ ______ 2. "One of those fellows worked for me as a delivery boy. He never hurt a soul before in his life."

______ ______ 3. "Among a group of 50 boys, half were sent to reform school. This group had a 35% rehabilitation record after five years. The other half were assigned to workers from a welfare agency. They had a 75% rehabilitation record."

______ ______ 4. "My son has been a no-good ever since he was old enough to walk. I don't care what happens to him."

______ ______ 5. "My dog never learned that you can't do some things in the house until I started to whip him really good."

______ ______ 6. "It is impossible to come up with a compromise that will satisfy both the needs of the individual criminal and the society. You must choose for one or the other, or not choose at all."

Pattern

and of which 5 items test 2.22 the ability to evaluate the source or authority of particular evidence.

(Note that in the illustration below, sometimes the source of the statement is crucial and sometimes the content is crucial in deciding on which is more or less valid.)

Pattern

and of which 5 items test 2.23 the ability to evaluate the weight or significance of evidence.

(Note: In this exercise, items testing 2.22 and 2.23 appear in the same group so that the student is not made too conscious of the crucial element to look for. In that way we can evaluate better the kinds of errors he makes.)

Illustration

2.22 and 2.23 Directions: In each of the following pairs of statements, check the one which you consider to be a stronger argument that the three boys should be judged as juveniles and the age-limit unchanged.

___ 1. a) "We don't condemn an illiterate man who never had the opportunity for an education, so how can we condemn the antisocial individual who was never raised to act socially?"

—club woman

___ b) "When a baby breaks his bottle you don't punish him, you comfort and assist him. These babies need our help, not our vengeance."

—teacher

___ 2. a) "All three youngsters in this case are suffering from feelings of persecution and delusions of grandeur."

—psychiatrist

___ b) "We shouldn't give up on these kids."

—engineer

___ 3. a) "The apple doesn't fall far from the tree. Show me a kid hoodlum, and I'll show you a lousy parent and rotten home."

—mailman

___ b) "Teach the parent that when his son steals, the father pays plenty, and he'll see to it that the kid is kept off the street."

—lawyer

___ 4. a) "If I came from a home like theirs, I think I would hate people, too."

—social worker

___ b) "When I was a kid, I got punished bad for taking pennies from my old lady's purse. All it taught me is that if you're going to get whipped anyway, you might as well steal dollars."

—ex-convict

Pattern

Include 5 items testing 2.3 and 2.31 the ability to identify gaps in the argument.

Illustration

2.3 and 2.31 Which of the following do you consider most important in arriving at a thoroughly reasoned judgment in this case?

___ 1. The past records of each of the boys.

___ 2. The availability of individual psychiatric help for delinquents.

___ 3. The rehabilitation record of social work agencies in the community.

___ 4. The rehabilitation record of the community penal system.

___ 5. The results of a reader poll being taken by the newspaper.

___ 6. The length and severity of the sentences usually passed upon convicted murderers in the state.

___ 7. The I.Q. of each of the boys.

___ 8. The number of people who depended upon the murdered man for financial support.

Pattern

Include 5 items testing 2.4 the ability to identify alternative hypotheses to account for a given situation.

(This pattern not illustrated in this model; see p. 73 for an illustration in a similar exercise.)

Pattern

Include 5 items testing 2.5 the ability to identify probable consequences of a given situation or policy.

2.5 For each of the following statements write:

A — if it is probably true;

B — if it is probably false;

C — if it is impossible to decide on the basis of the information given about this problem.

___ 1. If these kids had not rolled that drunk, he might have some day made a significant contribution to the community.

___ 2. The parents of these boys have not supervised them very carefully in the past.

___ 3. If these murderers are treated lightly, it will encourage other teen-age hoodlums to take greater chances.

___ 4. If the parents of these boys are severely fined, they will be much more effective parents in the future.

___ 5. If these kids are sent to prison, it will be evident that the courts have lost all faith in human nature.

___ 6. If these kids are not sent to prison, they will end up as criminals.

3. To test the ability to arrive at a conclusion consistent with his own analysis.

Pattern

Include 5 items testing 3.2 the ability to identify values on which his own position is based.

Illustration

3.2 In each of the following pairs, check the one you think is more important to this discussion.

___ 1. { a. Protection of members of the community vs.
___ b. Rehabilitation of the criminal.

___ 2. { a. The rights of a potential victim vs.
___ b. Rehabilitation of an offender.

___ 3. { a. The rights of a potential victim vs.
___ b. The rights of the offender.

___ 4. { a. The long-range interests of the community vs.
___ b. The present danger to the community.

Some of the above choices may have been more difficult to make than others. Which choice was the most difficult for you to make?

Write number. ___

Pattern

Include opportunity for student to 3.1 support his own position with valid evidence and 3.3 to identify the major arguments against his own position.

3.1 and 3.3 If you had to decide what to do about these boys, what judgment would you make about this case? (check)

___ 1. Advocate a lowering of the age limit so they will be treated as adults.

___ 2. Advocate keeping the present age limit as it stands, so they will be treated as juveniles.

___ 3. Advocate severe punishment for the three delinquents.

___ 4. Advocate a sweeping slum-clearance program.

___ 5. Advocate a harsh police crackdown on teen-age gangs.

___ 6. Advocate an accelerated welfare agencies program.

___ 7. Advocate more severe penalties for parents of delinquents.

___ 8. Advocate continued research toward effective social policy.

In your opinion, which of the arguments on pp. 101-102 are the most persuasive arguments for your position?

(Write numbers in the blank) ____________________

Which of the arguments on pp. 101-102 are the most persuasive arguments against your position?

(Write numbers in the blank) ______________

4. To test the ability to deal with non-rational elements in a problem situation:

Pattern

Include 5 items testing 4.1 the ability to identify and classify these elements.

(This pattern not illustrated in this model; see p. 134 for an illustration in a similar exercise.)

Pattern

Include 5 items testing 4.2 the ability to manipulate these elements. (One could ask the student to indicate the most probable reactions of different people and the most probable explanation of their reactions, or to identify the arguments he would use in discussing this case with specified people.)

(This pattern not illustrated in this model; see p. 135 for an illustration in a similar exercise.)

Values: Specification of Objective

The individual submits his value judgments to reflective examination and through that process develops a more consistent (and considered) system of values and motivation as they relate to community decisions and action.[*] The following behaviors constitute evidence of the achievement of this objective:

1. The individual becomes aware of, and responsive to, an increased range of values (economic, knowledge, health, law, beauty, respect for individual, traditions vs. progress, democratic process, efficiency, responsibility, excellence, integrity, diversity, etc.).
2. He becomes more consistent in his over-all value orientation (value patterning) and in the application of his values to particular problems or issues.
3. He has a sense of shared responsibility for what the community is, and desires to improve the situation.
4. Relative to his individual style of action he becomes more intensely committed (engaged), *i.e.*, he is willing to make some personal sacrifices to promote one or more of his values, and he feels concern or discomfort when he does not or cannot act.

Evaluation of these changes is always bedeviled by two related issues: (1) education vs. psychotherapy, and (2) education vs. propaganda. There appears to be consensus that any attempt to shift individual values without forcing the individual to confront and understand his own values is propagandistic rather than educational, while on the other hand forcing the individual to confront his own value system may require a level of insight and understanding more characteristic of psychotherapy than of education. Further it is recognized that value systems are resistant to change not only because the individual may lack insight but also because community pressures may reinforce his existing values. Hence it appears to be the function of education to help the individual to see the connection between a particular action, position or decision and its consequences in terms of his personal values, and to enable him to re-examine this action, position or decision in terms of alternative value positions.

Values: Measuring Achievement

At present there are no unique models developed for measuring this objective. It is our intention to utilize the case materials which were developed for testing critical judgment to obtain evidence of achievement with respect to this objective. As suggested above (pp. 65-66), responses will be scored in such a way as to provide data on the value system which the participant reveals in his analysis of the problem. At present this appears to be the most promising attack, inasmuch as our concern for values in this Area is normally a concern about what values the individual will choose to promote in a problem context that involves conflicting values. Second, it appears probable that the evidence obtained in this context is a more valid index of the respondent's pattern of values than is evidence obtained from generalized or isolated statements of position. However, the following devices also need to be explored: such projective devices as sentence completion tests and the like; adaptation of one or more of the available psychological tests of values, through the substitution of items relevant to community life.

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[*] See also pp. 140-42 for a fuller discussion of this objective.

Appreciation: Specification of Objective

The individual develops a feeling for the community based on its unique qualities and a sense of identification with it. The following behaviors constitute evidence of such appreciation:

1. He identifies with, and supports, certain civic institutions.
2. He has a positive response to community problems and is willing to make some personal sacrifices to help deal with them.
3. He has some feeling of loyalty to the community, regards it as home, plans to live there, wants his children to live there.
4. He takes pride in the community, is willing to talk about it and to show guests around.
5. He is aware of, and takes pleasure in, the traditions of the community, and recognizes the continuity between the present community and its traditions.

At the present stage of the Project, this objective has not been sufficiently developed to provide the reader with any clear idea of its significance or of methods of measuring its achievement, though the following devices have been tentatively suggested, more as a means of clarifying the objective, than of evaluating its achievement.

Appreciation: Measuring Achievement

1. Participants are shown a movie depicting how an ordinary, white collar worker of a particular urban community spends his day. The movie would picture him going to work—what he sees, etc. Students would then be asked: What struck you as the important characteristics of this community? What, from your point of view, needs changing in the community? How would you attempt to bring about these changes? Their answers would be scored in terms of the kinds of esthetic, cultural, ethical, etc., standards the student is responsive to. Obviously this type of item is based on the assumption that it is the total "quality of living" that is of importance.

2. Alternatively the student may be asked to draw a map of his own community (or of one he has just seen in the movie described above). Student answers would then be scored in terms of the kinds of things to which he is responsive and the "territory" the student includes in his concept of community.

Action Skills: Specification of Objective

The individual becomes increasingly able to diagnose a situation and to take effective action toward remedying it. This objective involves:

- A. Communication Skills—which can be demonstrated by increasing ability:
  - 1. to communicate reciprocally.
  - 2. to maintain a position without becoming defensive.
- B. Diagnostic Skills—which can be demonstrated by increasing ability:
  - 1. to evaluate realistically the forces for and against the desired changes.
  - 2. to seek group support for his value positions.
  - 3. to examine alternative means toward his goal when blocked.
- C. Organizational and Implementative Skills—which can be demonstrated by increasing ability:
  - 1. to plan effective strategy and supporting tactics for manipulating the environment.
  - 2. to assess the appropriateness of roles to persons.
  - 3. to gain cooperation of others, e.g., through increasing awareness of the motivations of others and sensitivity to their reactions, and increasing ability to deal with conflict and to work toward value changes in others.

At present there are no models developed for evaluating this objective.

Part Four

THE MORAL AND ETHICAL AREA

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    Judgment 125
    Values 140

Introductory Note[*]

Some clarification is needed regarding the types of programs included in this area, inasmuch as the other areas designated for study (political and social, community and arts) also treat problems that involve moral and ethical considerations. Obviously this area is not supposed to include all such programs, but only those that focus on the following as objectives of study: the process of making moral decisions, the systematization of these decisions into codes of ethics, the integration of these processes in a general philosophic system and the critical comparison of these systems. From this definition it should be clear that though a thoughtful reappraisal of values is regarded as one of the most significant objectives, such reflective re-examination does not constitute the whole of the expected outcomes in this area.

Second, in stating objectives for this area an important distinction needs to be made between intra-program objectives and long-term cumulative objectives to which all liberal programs might be expected to contribute. Evaluation of a specific program in terms of the latter is too coarse a measure to identify real and important gains.

Last, we feel that though the name for this area might be misleading (it might more properly be designated as Methods of Moral Judgment) the area should be kept as a separate one, for the reason that though there are many programs designed to elicit a debate of values, there are few that focus on values as objects of study. The following are illustrative of programs properly classified in this area: Great Books discussion groups, Basic Program at the University of Chicago, and the inter-disciplinary program at Northern Illinois University which focuses on the question "What Does It Mean To Be Human?"

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[*] Certain materials for this section were developed in cooperation with New York University, as arranged by Carl Tjerandsen, Assistant Dean, Division of General Education.

Content Objectives

The subject matter or content of this area may be (and for practical purposes is) defined in a number of widely different ways. The temptation is to approach the definition from one of two extremes: either (a) to define it in terms of the traditional discipline of philosophy and to insist on "covering" in a formal and technical fashion the various schools of thought or (b) to define it in terms of uniquely personal dilemmas without bringing to bear the ideas of first-rate thinkers who have dealt with the same problems.

We propose to define the territory or subject matter of this area in terms of four axes, which can be used as a systematic frame of reference for purposes of program planning.

1. Models, systems or schools of thought
2. Areas of concern
3. Enduring problems
4. Methodology (i.e., nature of inquiry)

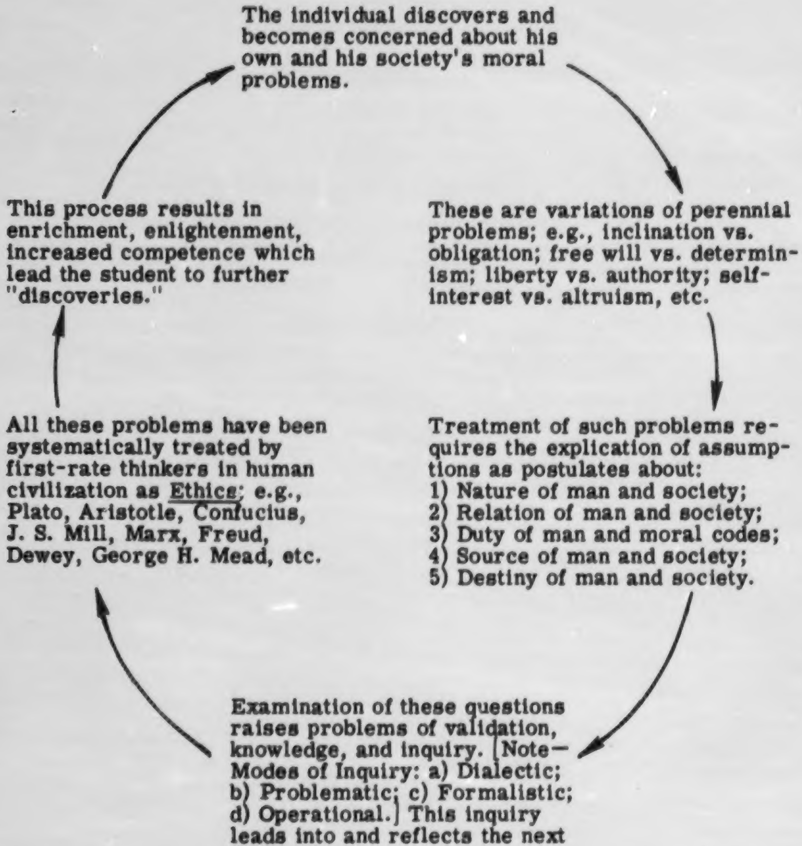
These particular dimensions represent, of course, only one among several "systems" of analyzing and codifying this field of study.

2. Areas of Concern (for example:)	1. Models, Systems or Schools of Thought (for example:)					
	Platonic	Aristotelian	Utilitarian	Pragmatic	Existentialist	Etc.
Nature and Source of Man						
Duty of Man						
Destiny of Man						
Man's Relation to Other Men (i.e., Nature of Society)						
Man and the Universe						

3. Enduring Problems or Action Dilemmas (for example): Inclination vs. Obligation, Self-Interest, Liberty vs. Authority, Short-term vs. Long-term Values, Own-group Values vs. Larger-group Values, Etc.
4. Nature of Inquiry (for example): What constitutes knowledge? How is it acquired? Extended? What criteria of logic and/or proof are to be employed? Etc.

The chart, together with the third and fourth dimensions illustrated above, can be viewed as a vehicle for translating moral positions into ethical systems. As such, it is not intended to imply that any one program is expected to treat the whole of the field, but merely that any program can locate itself in terms of each of the four dimensions or axes. For example, a program planner may decide to select for group discussion, certain specific problems illustrative of the so-called, "enduring dilemmas," and to show how these dilemmas have been dealt with in various "systems." Such an examination will illuminate various aspects of the "areas of concern" and will entail, at least implicitly, attention to relevant questions regarding the "nature of inquiry."

The nature of this process of analysis is partially elaborated in the flow-chart below:



The individual discovers and becomes concerned about his own and his society's moral problems.

These are variations of perennial problems; e.g., inclination vs. obligation; free will vs. determinism; liberty vs. authority; self-interest vs. altruism, etc.

Treatment of such problems requires the explication of assumptions as postulates about:
1) Nature of man and society;
2) Relation of man and society;
3) Duty of man and moral codes;
4) Source of man and society;
5) Destiny of man and society.

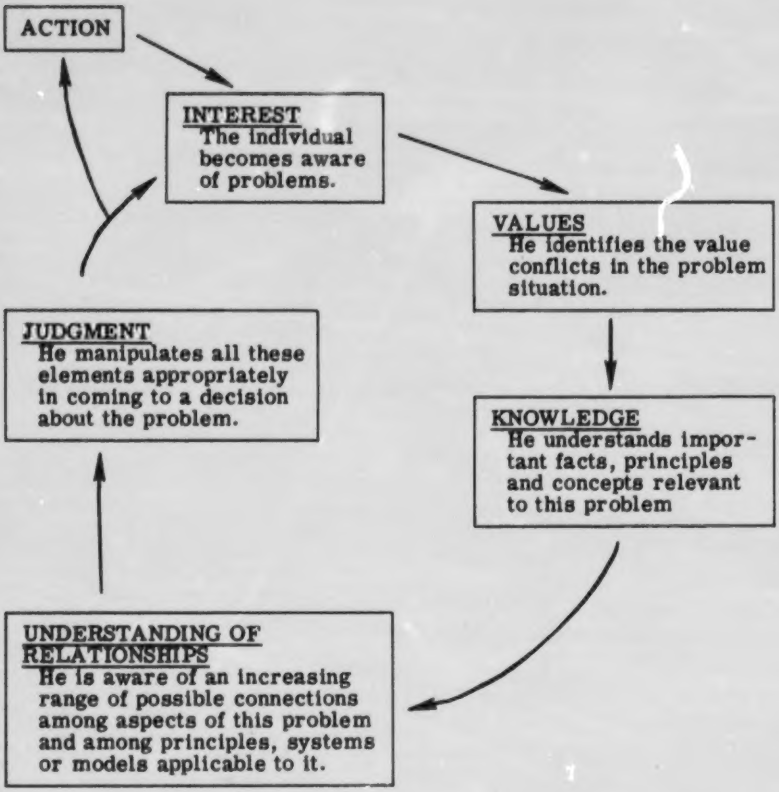
Examination of these questions raises problems of validation, knowledge, and inquiry. [Note—Modes of Inquiry: a) Dialectic; b) Problematic; c) Formalistic; d) Operational.] This inquiry leads into and reflects the next "stage."

All these problems have been systematically treated by first-rate thinkers in human civilization as Ethics; e.g., Plato, Aristotle, Confucius, J. S. Mill, Marx, Freud, Dewey, George H. Mead, etc.

This process results in enrichment, enlightenment, increased competence which lead the student to further "discoveries."

Behavioral Objectives

For the purposes of this area, the five selected objectives bear a relationship to one another which is indicated in the flow chart below:



ACTION

INTEREST
The individual becomes aware of problems.

VALUES
He identifies the value conflicts in the problem situation.

KNOWLEDGE
He understands important facts, principles and concepts relevant to this problem

UNDERSTANDING OF RELATIONSHIPS
He is aware of an increasing range of possible connections among aspects of this problem and among principles, systems or models applicable to it.

JUDGMENT
He manipulates all these elements appropriately in coming to a decision about the problem.

Interest: Specification of Objective

The individual develops broader and/or more intensive interests in this area. Although the specification of the objective for this area is quite close to that of areas previously discussed, it has been enough refined that we present it here. The following behaviors constitute evidence of the achievement of this objective:

1. The individual seeks new learning experiences (courses), reads more widely, and gives more time and thought to problems in this Area.
2. He develops, or increases, his vocabulary for dealing with problems in this Area.
3. He shows an increased disposition to identify problems of this nature in other Areas.
4. He acquires symbols of identification with the Area (books, articles, organizational affiliations, etc.).
5. He identifies with, or seeks out, individuals who already possess these new interests.
6. He attempts to persuade others to share in his interests (initiates discussion).
7. He participates in activities to which he was previously indifferent or hostile.
8. He engages in activities at a different level (e.g., learning, participating, initiating action).

Interest is of a different order from other objectives. The voluntary exercise of any intellectual skill is evidence of interest. However, in the definition of this objective an attempt has been made to exclude the behaviors which indicate the level of such skills as opposed to the pattern and intensity of interest.

The phrase "in this area," as used in the general statement of the objective above, may be too restrictive, inasmuch as many programs aim at stimulating an interest in intellectual activity generally, not merely "in this area." The content and methods of a program will differ depending on whether it is aimed at broadening interests to other areas or at making the students' interest in this area more focused and selective. At present the interest objective is defined more modestly as applying to "this area." Extension to other fields is best treated as an intellectual skill.

Interest: Measuring Achievement

See pp. 49-51 above for a general discussion of an interest inventory. Some sample items based in that model and applying to this area are:

Instructions: For each of the following activities circle

A — if it describes something you do often and would like to continue doing;

B — if it describes something you have done in the past month and would like to do again;

C — if it describes something you have done prior to the past month and don't particularly want to do again;

D — if it describes something you have never done, but think you would like to do;

E — if it describes something you have never done and don't particularly want to do.

1. Read articles in newspapers and magazines that deal seriously with the moral problems of the world today. A B C D E
2. Spend time weighing the pros and cons of taking a certain action in terms of whether it is right or wrong. A B C D E
3. Go to lectures by people dealing with philosophy and religion. A B C D E

Particularly in this area, observational records of students in class discussion are recommended for indication of aroused interest. The form reproduced below, to be filled out for each ten-minute period of class discussion, is suggested as a possibility for further development. Instructions for the observer might specify the kinds of incidents to be recorded, the form in which each should be recorded, and the supporting data to be collected.

Such an instrument might be a multi-purpose one, to be used as a source of evidence on critical judgment as well as the interest objective. In some cases a change from certainty to uncertainty (or even confusion) might be evidence not only of a readiness to learn (i.e., interest), but also could be regarded as evidence that some learning had taken place. Alternately, at a later stage (or for other individuals or other groups) progress would consist in resolving confusion and uncertainty. Consequently, these instruments should focus on process rather than ultimate outcome, and the observer should be instructed to record not only the types of participation that reveal certain intellectual development (attempts to define a term, or that challenge or question a generally held position, etc.), but also to record participant exchanges that reveal a self-conscious discovery of a new perspective on values, a willingness to listen, to state a position, uncertainty or confusion, increasing assurance about value systems, and the capacity and willingness to explore alternative value systems in attempting to resolve a problem.

10 min.

Participation

1.

___ Discussion mainly concerned with central subject or concept.

___ Discussion mainly concerned with related but not central subject or concept.

___ Discussion mainly concerned with unrelated subject or with individuals.

2.

Remarks which indicate person has done outside reading, thinking, or activity related to central subject.

No: ____________________

3.

Questions which seek to open up new aspects of the central question.

No: ____________________

4.

Questions which seek clarification or understanding of central subject.

No: ____________________

5.

Rough proportion of time taken by instructor and group.

Instructor ________%
Class ________%

6.

References to previous learnings during the course.

No: ____________________

7.

References to their own lives which relate to materials and learnings.

No: ____________________

Gesture

1.

___ Most of the group paid close attention to all remarks.

___ Fair amount of attention, with some restlessness and some pairing.

___ Group in general very restless, with a good deal of pairing.

2.

___ Many members indicated eager to participate verbally.

___ Some members indicated eager to participate verbally.

___ Very few members indicated eager to participate verbally.

Attendance

What per cent of group attended? ____%
What percentage came late? ____%
Per cent stayed on subject during break? ____%
Percentage stayed on to talk? ____%

Knowledge: Specification of Objective

The individual develops an increasing knowledge of his own and of other ethical systems. (See pp. 52-53 above for a general statement concerning this objective.) The following behaviors constitute evidence of the achievement of this objective:

1. The individual knows what values he presently affirms and denies with respect to basic moral and ethical issues.
2. He is aware of some of the ways in which other people have formulated and dealt with certain of these issues.
3. He understands and can employ accurately the vocabulary which is essential to communicate with others about these issues.
4. He is aware of a model or models to utilize in dealing with these issues (i.e., has some knowledge about general philosophic systems).
5. He can identify the ethical universe within which a particular discussion occurs, and the method of argument or analysis employed in the discussion.
6. He can identify the main pre-suppositions of major ethical systems.
7. He can identify the relevant criteria for making or evaluating a particular judgment. [For example, he recognizes that information about consequences is essential in applying a utilitarian as contrasted with a formalist approach.]

Two difficulties arise in defining and evaluating behavior in this area. The first concerns the relation between moral problems and ethical problems, and the second concerns the character of the knowledge required for treating each type of problem. Knowledge required for an understanding of moral issues may differ in important respects from that regarding community problems, economic problems, etc. In the latter case the relevant body of content includes objective, scientific observations and generalizations, whereas the data for understanding a moral issue may consist almost wholly in a knowledge of the values on which one presently acts and the "meaning" of such action. Alternatively, as the systems of personal morality are codified into formal ethical systems there is danger that the relevant content may be viewed as consisting of a formal, technical structure and a program may become excessively preoccupied with communicating this formal content. In the statement of this objective and in the evaluation of programs, we prefer to treat these systems as "models" to be considered and analyzed rather than as technical apparatus to be manipulated in a formal way.

Understanding Relationships: Specification of Objective

The individual becomes aware of an increasing range of possible connections among seemingly disparate phenomena in this area. The following behaviors constitute evidence of the achievement of this objective:

1. The individual is able to classify different phenomena into appropriate subject, and/or concept, classes.
2. He recognizes that the same phenomena can be classified in a number of different ways, some of which are more significant than others for a particular purpose.
3. In his apprehension of the factors in a situation to which moral judgment is to be applied, he is able to discriminate among different kinds of relationships: e.g., causal, co-variant, logical, historical, sequential, etc.
4. He recognizes the relation between the instance and the principle or concept.
5. He formulates hypotheses to account for connections among phenomena.
6. He applies concepts of one field to the interpretation of phenomena in another.

Understanding relationships requires that the individual be able to recognize a variety of connections among facts or even areas of knowledge; he must be able to supply a context, or at least to recognize the universe of discourse in which a given term is used; and he must be able to select or develop a general frame of reference appropriate to the phenomena to be related. This process involves both analysis and synthesis, in that the student must be able both to make distinctions that he was unable to make before and to see uniformities that he had not seen before.

The relationships which the student identifies can be judged in terms of their validity, their significance and their appropriateness (utility) for a specified purpose.

While the foregoing is applicable to any content area, certain special problems arise in this area. Moral and ethical judgments are always applied in a context of events, i.e., are situational in their application. It follows therefore that there are three general types of relationships involved in this area: (1) relationships among the objects about which a moral judgment is to be made; (2) relationships among the grounds, or principles or systems on which a judgment is based; and (3) relationships between the objects on the one hand and the grounds or principles or systems on the other.

Programs in this area are concerned primarily with the last two types of relationships, though in the specification of behaviors stated above the term "phenomena" is meant to include both the objects about which, and the grounds on which, a moral judgment is made.

Understanding Relationships: Measuring Achievement

Two general models for exercises to test achievement in the relationships objective are presented above on pp. 54-62. Both of these may readily be adapted to this area, in the first instance by presenting ethically relevant categories which the student must use to classify observations, documents or ideas, and in the second, by developing examples which require him to identify connections between principles and objects. The third example, pp. 91-96 above, requires no more adaptation to this area than to others of specific content.

In addition, several special instruments for this area are under consideration:

a. An exercise requiring the student to sort short statements of moral or ethical positions into as many pairs as he can. His pairings would then be examined to determine what principle or principles of classification he used and these principles would be graded on a scale representing degrees of sophistication in this area.

b. A matching exercise in which the student is to identify the statement of a concept which best defines each of a series of terms. The terms and concepts should be chosen on the basis of the principle that while a given word may have many perfectly respectable philosophic meanings, only one of these is appropriate to a particular philosophic system.

c. An exercise requiring the student to identify which of numerous data are relevant to a particular problem as viewed from each of several different philosophic systems.

Judgment: Specification of Objective

The individual is increasingly able to make informed decisions about problems or issues in this area. Achievement of this objective is demonstrated by increased ability to:

1. identify the crucial issue or issues in a problem situation.
2. formulate alternative hypotheses for dealing with a problem or issue.
3. assess the relevance and validity of evidence and arguments relating to these hypotheses.
4. formulate or recognize the probable consequences of a particular position or course of action.
5. assess alternative choices in terms of conflicting values (esthetic, moral, economic, etc.).
6. arrive at a conclusion which is consistent with his own analysis and which takes account of the major arguments (evidence and/or value positions) in conflict with his own.
7. re-examine his own judgment in terms of a different frame of reference (contradictory evidence and/or values).

The individual's behavior can be evaluated in terms of the relevance, accuracy, completeness and significance of the considerations which he brings to bear in making an independent decision about a particular issue or problem.

Both the behavior and the criteria stated above are applicable to any area of study. But certain problems unique to this area should be made explicit. The first is the concept of the objective itself: "critical judgment," i.e., the application of abstract values and general ethical codes to particular problems or issues. Indeed it should be borne in mind that in some philosophic systems the important judgments are reached by a process which cannot properly be called "critical." It may therefore be necessary to expand the judgment objective in this area to include these other types of judgment. And even within the objective as presently defined it should be recognized that the very nature of the philosophic system in terms of which the individual approaches an issue determines the kinds of questions which are relevant to this issue: the very way in which these questions are formulated, determines the answer (or at least limits the range of relevant considerations); and the whole approach, in turn, determines the relevant criteria for evaluating both the judgmental process and the judgment itself.

Certain general qualifications and cautions have been suggested in regard to this objective. Of particular significance are the following:

1. The importance of defining the objective in such a way as to include among the test situations some in which the most appropriate behavior is to suspend judgment as a means of evaluating the extent to which students are able to recognize the adequacy of evidence.
2. Closely related to the above, the recommendation that throughout the definition of the objective such phrases as "tentative conclusion," "practical decision," etc., be understood, in order to emphasize the importance of not forcing the student to a hasty conclusion that prevents revision and re-evaluation in the light of new evidence.
3. The necessity of recognizing in the definition of the objective that in some problem areas analysis only is required, while in others decisions of various levels constitute an essential element of the judging process. For instance, objectives of most programs include the analysis or understanding of an object—a text, a problem, a painting, etc. In some programs the objectives further include the evaluation of and decision about a position. And still others may emphasize in their objectives, the capacity to make a decision and to act on it. Thus to be maximally useful, the definition of behaviors for this objective must include what are commonly thought of as the processes of critical thinking, of judging and of decision-making.
4. The importance of a distinction between the capacity to make a judgment and the willingness to act on that judgment. Representatives of most programs concur in the view that the educational program contributes only to certain elements in the total process of judging and acting.
5. The significance of non-rational (extra-logical) factors in the process of judging. Though such influences are always operative, some evaluation devices will need to be constructed that minimize the distortions attributable to such influences while other devices may be needed to assess changes occurring in students with respect to these factors.

Judgment: Measuring Achievement

In the subsection dealing with the evaluation of the interest objective above (pp. 118-21), it was suggested that data gathered from class observation are potentially useful also as evidence about improvement in judgment. However, more direct evidence can be obtained by employing the case device, as described for other areas. (For a description of general problems of developing such exercises and of scoring procedures, see pp. 64-66.) All of the cases developed for other areas (see p. 22 for list of available cases) require the student to make value decisions, and so all are in that sense relevant to this area. However, the ethical and moral choice predominates in somewhat different ways in the two following cases, and they are therefore especially relevant to this area.

Model I: The Case of Alberto B--

A federal statute provides that any alien who has more than once been sentenced to more than a year of imprisonment because of conviction of "a crime involving moral turpitude" (defined as depravity or baseness), shall be deported from the United States. In February, 1938, Alberto B--, an alien, pleaded guilty to concealing liquor with intent to defraud the government of whiskey taxes; and in May, 1938, he pleaded guilty again to the same type of crime. He was sentenced to imprisonment for one year and one day on each charge.

Mr. B-- claimed he could not be deported, because his crimes did not involve "moral turpitude"; that it is a typical American practice to cheat the government on taxes, especially excise taxes, whenever it is thought safe to do so. Nevertheless, two of the three justices on the U.S. Court of Appeals held that fraud is an unmistakable badge of moral turpitude, and decided to deport Mr. B--. The third judge dissented as follows: "I could wish that it was commonly thought more morally shameful than it is to evade taxes; but . . . we must try to appraise the moral repugnance of the ordinary man towards the conduct in question; not what an ideal citizen would feel."

Do you think Alberto B-- should be deported?

Yes______ No______ Uncertain______

1. To test the ability to identify crucial issues:

Pattern

Include 10-12 items testing 1.1:
the ability to scale various statements of issues according to their relevance. (Items should range from statements of central issues to peripheral and irrelevant, (a) including some quite wrong statements that only a very badly informed person would select and (b) including a range of value positions. As constructed it includes a test of the ability to exclude irrelevant issues and the ability to identify the central issue.

Illustration

1.1 Directions: The following questions could conceivably be debated in connection with this case. On the left, check the three questions you think it would be most important to discuss in connection with this case. Although all the questions below are relevant to this case in some sense, discussion of several of them would bring us no nearer an intelligent decision here. On the right check the three you would consider it least profitable to discuss in connection with this case.

Most Important		Least Important
___	1. Is tax evasion considered by the ordinary citizen of the United States to be immoral?	1. ___
___	2. Is there an important difference between tax evasion and tax avoidance?	2. ___
___	3. Does the government have the right to levy taxes on aliens?	3. ___

Most Important | **Least Important**

___ 4. Does the government have the right to deport an alien for crimes involving "moral turpitude?" 4. ___

___ 5. Is it true that most Americans cheat on taxes when they think it is safe to do so? 5. ___

___ 6. Are aliens more likely to commit crimes involving "moral turpitude" than native-born American citizens? 6. ___

___ 7. Is law based on the common morality of the community, or on the morality of its most intelligent and thoughtful members? 7. ___

___ 8. Is the morality of a community determined by how most of its members act? 8. ___

___ 9. Is the morality of a community determined by how most of its members think? 9. ___

___ 10. Is obedience to law, as such, a moral obligation? 10. ___

___ 11. Are all moral standards relative? 11. ___

___ 12. Has Alberto B-- given any other evidence of "moral turpitude?" 12. ___

Directions: Of the three questions which you checked on the left above as most important in deciding this case, circle the number of the one which you consider the most crucial of all.

Pattern

Include 3-5 items testing 1.2 the ability to identify assumptions which must be made in order to accept a particular statement as the crucial issue or problem.

Illustration

1.2 Directions: Your choice of the most relevant questions above involves an assumption about what is actually the crux of the case. Here is a list of five such assumptions. For each one, write in the blank space the number of the question or questions on pp. 127-28 which would probably be of greatest concern to someone making that assumption. (You may list more than one in any case.)

___ 1. The crux of the case is Mr. B--'s character.

___ 2. The crux of the case is a legal problem; the moral issues are only peripheral.

___ 3. The crux of the case is the relation between law and morality.

___ 4. The crux of the case is a problem of information; how does the average American feel about tax evasion?

___ 5. The crux of the case is a moral problem; is tax evasion immoral, or isn't it?

Directions: Which statement do you believe to be the crux of this problem?

Write the number of that statement.__________

Pattern

Include 3-5 items testing 1.3 the ability to identify assumptions which must be made in order to accept a particular statement as evidence for a particular conclusion.

Illustration

1.3 Directions: Suppose someone said that this man should not be deported because "After all, everyone cheats some on his taxes." Such a speaker must obviously believe that: (check two)

___ 1. Obedience to law is a moral obligation.

___ 2. Moral standards are relative.

___ 3. There's no such thing as right and wrong.

___ 4. In some matters, at least, aliens and natural born citizens should be judged on the same standards.

2. To test the ability to analyze an argument:

Pattern

Include 10 items testing 2.1 the ability to identify the relevance of evidence for a particular issue.

Alternative Method

Relevance to the broad issue may be tested by directing the student to identify, by different symbols or by checking in two different columns, arguments for and those against a proposal. This differs from the illustration below in that the illustration enables the tester to specify each issue more narrowly, whereas the alternative may be a little more economical in allowing the tester to include all arguments that are necessary in part 3 below.

Illustration

2.1 Directions: The following statements were offered by witnesses at the trial as reasons for not deporting Mr. B--. Check the ones you consider relevant to the point at issue.

___ 1. "There is a long and distinguished tradition of resistance to excise taxes in the United States, dating back to the Boston Tea Party and the Whiskey Rebellion."
—a history teacher

___ 2. "Cheating on taxes is just like keeping your nickel when it's accidentally returned in a phone booth. It's not the same as stealing from an individual."
—a lawyer

___ 3. "Alberto was always a good friend to me. Most other people seem to like him, too."
—a neighbor

___ 4. "Mr. B-- is a religious man. He goes to St. Anthony's every Sunday."

—the parish priest

___ 5. "I never seen him throwin' his money around, or nothin' like that. He just lives quiet, like the rest of us."

—a neighbor

___ 6. "If you deported everybody who did what he did, there wouldn't be nobody left."

—a neighbor

___ 7. "How can we deport anyone for 'moral turpitude,' when no one really knows with certainty what is right and wrong in human affairs?"

—a psychiatrist

___ 8. "I never in my life saw Alberto B-- drunk; and that's more than I can say about most people on our block."

—a neighbor

___ 9. "Aliens are just as good Americans as people who happen to be born here."

—Antonio B--,
Alberto's brother

___ 10. "I have never met anyone who considers tax evasion immoral."

—a businessman

___ 11. "Liquor don't belong to the government. How come they can charge us money to drink it?"

—a neighbor

___ 12. "In 1929, in a similar case, a court ruled that tax evasion was not such moral turpitude as to justify deportation."

—a lawyer

Pattern

Include 15 items testing 2.2 the ability to judge the validity of evidence of which 5 items test 2.21 the ability to distinguish fact from opinion.

Illustration

Directions: Some of the statements in the preceding group are facts that everybody could agree are true. However, there might be considerable disagreement about other statements. In the blanks below, write the number of any statements which you think are opinions or beliefs and could therefore never really be proved either true or false.

Statements No. ____, ____, ____.

Pattern

and of which 5 items test 2.22 the ability to evaluate the source or authority of particular evidence.

[Note that in the illustration below, sometimes the source of the statement is crucial and sometimes the content is crucial in deciding on which is more or less valid.]

Pattern

and of which 5 items test 2.23 the ability to evaluate the weight or significance of evidence.

[Note: In this exercise, items testing 2.22 and 2.23 appear in the same group so that the student is not made too conscious of the crucial element to look for. In that way we can evaluate better the kinds of errors he makes.]

Illustration

2.22 and 2.23 Directions: In each of the following pairs of statements, check the statement you consider to be the stronger evidence for allowing Mr. B-- to stay in this country. If you think one is just as strong as the other, do not check either one.

___ 1. "How can we deport anyone for 'moral turpitude,' when no one really knows with certainty what is right and wrong in human affairs?"

—a psychiatrist

___ "Cheating on taxes is just like keeping your nickel when it's accidentally returned in a phone booth. It's not the same as stealing from an individual."

—a lawyer

___ 2. "He is a good and religious man. He goes to St. Anthony's every Sunday."

—the parish priest

___ "Aliens are just as good Americans as people who happen to be born here."

—Alberto's brother

___ 3. "Alberto was always a good friend to me. Most other people seem to like him, too."

—a neighbor

___ "I never seen him throwin' his money around, or nothin' like that. He just lives quiet, like the rest of us."

—a neighbor

___ 4. "There is a long and distinguished tradition of resistance to excise taxes in the United States, dating back to the Boston Tea Party and the Whiskey Rebellion."

—a history teacher

___ "In 1929, in a similar case, a court ruled that tax evasion was not such moral turpitude as to justify deportation."

—a lawyer

Pattern

Include 5 items testing 2.3 and 2.31 the ability to identify gaps in the argument.

[Note: An alternative technique for testing this skill consists in asking the respondent to select from a list the particular things it would be most important to know about in order to make a thoroughly reasoned judgment on this case. Such a list should, of course, include several quite irrelevant items.]

Illustration

2.3 **Directions:** Here are four more statements offered as evidence in the case. For each one, write:

A — if it is important as it stands;

B — if it might be important if more were known about Mr. B--;

C — if it could not be important no matter how much more were known about Mr. B--.

___ 1. "Tax evasion may be immoral, but tax avoidance is accepted as an integral part of our economic system."

___ 2. "To evade taxes as an individual action may be all right, but to become involved in organized criminal activity is certainly immoral."

___ 3. "Nobody in the neighborhood is very clear about what Mr. B-- does for a living."

___ 4. "Mr. B-- hangs around with an unsavory bunch of characters, many of whom have prison records."

2.31 **Directions:** Which of the following additional facts would you find most decisive in determining whether or not statement 3 above was really important evidence?

___ 1. Mr. B-- only works part-time.

___ 2. Mr. B-- has no regular source of income.

___ 3. Mr. B-- has a family abroad of which he is the sole support.

___ 4. Mr. B-- drives the most expensive car on his block.

Pattern

Include 5 items testing 2.4 the ability to identify alternative hypotheses to account for a given situation.

Illustration

2.4 **Directions:** Do you believe Mr. B-- should be deported? Yes___ No___ Now suppose you were given the following additional pieces of information about this case. Check the one (or ones) which would cause you to change your mind about deporting Mr. B--.

___ 1. Alberto B-- makes a business of selling bootleg liquor.

___ 2. The case of 1929 (referred to in 2.22 above) involved violation of a prohibition law, which has since been repealed.

___ 3. A Gallup poll reveals that the majority of American citizens do consider tax evasion to be immoral.

___ 4. At the time of the passing of the law regarding deportation of aliens for crimes involving "moral turpitude," there was a wave of anti-alien sentiment in the United States.

___ 5. With the money he makes by selling bootleg liquor, Mr. B-- is supporting an invalid sister.

Pattern

Include 5 items testing 2.5 the ability to identify probable consequences of a given situation or policy.

2.5 For each of the following statements write:

A — if it is probably true;

B — if it is probably false;

C — if it is impossible to decide on the basis of the information given about Mr. B-- in this problem.

___ 1. Failure to deport Mr. B-- is an indication of a general change in civic morality in the U. S.

___ 2. Deporting Mr. B-- is evidence of the disregard in the United States of the feelings of other peoples of the world.

___ 3. Failure to deport Mr. B-- may be considered a relaxation of the U. S. public's negative attitude toward aliens.

___ 4. Deporting Mr. B-- would lead aliens generally to feel that the U. S. courts are unfair.

___ 5. Failure to deport Mr. B-- would encourage all aliens to act immorally.

3. The ability to arrive at a conclusion consistent with his own analysis:

Pattern

Include 5 items testing 3.2 the ability to identify values on which his own position is based.

Illustration

In each of the following pairs check the one you think is more important. If both are unimportant leave the item blank.

If I had to decide whether or not to deport Mr. B-- I would vote in favor of the decision which would:

___ give this poor sucker the best break.
___ give society the best protection against people like this.

___ make his punishment appropriate to his crime.
___ be most effective in discouraging others.

___ follow precedents that society has found to work in cases like this.
___ create new precedents to fit new conditions.

Pattern

Include opportunity for student to 3.1 support his own position with valid evidence and 3.3 identify the major arguments against his own position.

Illustration

3.1 If you had to decide this question on the basis of the information given so far, how would you vote?

___ Mr. B-- should be deported.

___ Mr. B-- should not be deported.

In your opinion, which of the following are the most persuasive arguments for deporting Mr. B--?

___ 1. Mr. B-- is guilty of fraud, which is unmistakable evidence of moral turpitude.

___ 2. Mr. B-- not only evaded taxes on his own, but made a business of selling bootleg liquor.

___ 3. Mr. B-- has no regular, legitimate source of income.

___ 4. Mr. B-- associates with men who have criminal records.

___ 5. Mr. B-- is an alien, and aliens must be above suspicion.

3.3 In your opinion, which of the reasons on pp. 129-30 are the most persuasive arguments against deporting Mr. B--? (Write numbers in the blank) ____________________

4. The ability to deal with non-rational elements in a problem situation:

Pattern

Include 5 items testing 4.1 the ability to identify and classify these elements.

Illustration

4.1 Directions: Each of the following statements makes use of a particular type of appeal. Mark each according to whether it represents:

A — guilt by association;

B — conclusion based on insufficient evidence;

C — condemns people because they are different;

D — "glittering generalities";

E — the "bandwagon effect."

___ 1. "Mr. B-- is a religious man. He goes to St. Anthony's every Sunday."

___ 2. "How can we deport anyone for 'moral turpitude,' when no one really knows with certainty what is right and wrong in human affairs?"

___ 3. "Mr. B-- hangs around with an unsavory bunch of characters, many of whom have prison records."

___ 4. "Nobody in the neighborhood is very clear about what Mr. B-- does for a living."

___ 5. "I never seen him throwin' his money around, or nothin' like that. He just lives quiet, like the rest of us."

___ 6. "There is a long and distinguished tradition of resistance to excise taxes in the United States dating back to the Boston Tea Party and the Whiskey Rebellion."

___ 7. "Aliens are just as good Americans as people who happen to be born here."

___ 8. "Since Mr. B-- cannot make enough working part-time to pay for the car he drives, he must be selling bootleg liquor on the side."

Pattern

Include 5 items testing 4.2 the ability to manipulate these elements. [Alternatively, one could ask the student to indicate the most probable reactions of different people and the most probable explanation of their reactions.]

Illustration

4.2 Which one or more of the above arguments would you use if you were arguing the case before the U. S. Court of Appeals? Write the numbers of the argument in the appropriate box.

Prosecution:____________ Defense:____________

Which would you use in arguing with the neighbors on Mr. B--'s block?

For Mr. B--:___________ Against Mr. B.--:___________

Model II: The Case of Robert Held

Robert Held is a young man working at the middle management level for a large merchandising firm. He has been with the firm for about 11 years, in the Chicago branch, and is considered one of their more promising young executives by his superiors.

For the past year, he has worked on a major reorganization project that has required an unusual amount of extra time, both travelling and entertaining visiting businessmen. The company has paid the expenses involved, of course, but the normal pattern of family life for the Helds and their three children has been disrupted. Mrs. Held has jokingly complained that the only time she sees her husband is when they entertain some of his business associates. She realizes that this has been an unusual year, however, and has consoled herself with the anticipation of a two-week vacation in California, planned almost a year ago to coincide with a family reunion on the occasion of her parents' 40th anniversary. Further, both Held and his wife know that this extra work will most probably aid his advancement.

Three weeks before the scheduled vacation, Held's immediate superior, Mr. Collins, asks him if he can possibly delay his trip. A regional merchandising exhibit coincides with it, at which Held's company makes a practice of entertaining representatives from the firms that supply its merchandise. Normally, the manager of the purchasing department does this. This is considered a part of the effort to show good will of the company and is not an occasion for the actual conducting of any business. The actual buying that is done at the time of the exhibit has been decided on beforehand, and is done by other members of the purchasing department.

Mr. Collins tells Held that the head of the purchasing department will definitely not be able to do this entertaining because of illness. He wishes that Held would postpone his trip and handle this. Since Held had been head of the purchasing department and knows many of the suppliers, Mr. Collins feels that he is the logical man.

Held says he would like to refuse for he feels that he cannot, with a clear conscience, postpone his family's trip or send them without him. Held asks Mr. Collins if he could not do this himself. Mr. Collins says he feels Held must do it.

Several days later, Mrs. Collins, wife of the assistant manager, visits Mrs. Held and tries to explain that Held should stay for this exhibit, mentioning the many times she has had to forego things because of the business. Her effort is intended to soften the blow of the canceled trip.

After the visit of Mrs. Collins to Mrs. Held, Held tells the assistant manager that he must insist that he cannot postpone going on this trip. He says again that he feels he is not needed for this entertaining at the time of the exhibit. He also indicates that he did not appreciate the effort to influence him through his wife.

Mr. Collins asks that the manager talk with Held and explain the importance of Held's staying while the exhibit is in progress.

Suppose that you are the manager of this branch of the Bates Co. Would you decide that Held should stay for the exhibit?

1.1* Directions: The following statements could conceivably be made in argument for a decision in a case of this kind. Indicate which four of these statements you feel are most important in making a decision in this particular case by putting a check mark in front of those four.

___ 1. It has been clearly demonstrated that the extra efforts and sacrifices of the executive employees greatly benefit a business organization.

___ 2. Most of the senior and older business executives get considerable satisfaction from the extra efforts involved in their work.

___ 3. The major cause of marital problems for executives is conflict between their loyalty to their jobs and their loyalty to their families.

___ 4. Most organizations expect their executive employees to do more than just perform their specifically assigned jobs.

___ 5. A man's progress in his job should be considered as a means for his family's betterment rather than as an end in itself.

___ 6. Executive employees have important responsibilities to the organizations for which they work.

___ 7. A man's family should not be expected to serve the purposes of the man's job.

___ 8. It is the right and the duty of the husband to decide what is best for the interests of his family.

---

*The numbers preceding each set of directions refer to corresponding sections of the model just preceding.

___ 9. Loyal executives and their families benefit directly from the greater successes of a business concern, and therefore it is to their own benefit to make any effort asked of them.

___ 10. It is important that the lines of executive authority be adhered to.

___ 11. Many business organizations require a great deal of unnecessary time and effort from their executive employees.

___ 12. It is an established fact that the attitude of an executive's wife toward his job is an important element in that executive's efficiency.

Statements 1-12 are all relevant, in some sense, to cases of this sort. However, some of them are not important in making a decision in this particular case. Indicate which two you would consider least important. (Write the numbers in the blanks.)

__________ __________

In making the decision whether or not Held should be persuaded to postpone his vacation, which of the following questions is most important? (Check one.)

___ 1. Is Held disobeying his superior?

___ 2. Will the position of the company be hurt by Held's refusal?

___ 3. Does Held deserve a vacation at this time?

___ 4. Will a postponement of the vacation cause a serious family problem for Held?

___ 5. Was the assistant manager wrong in having his wife talk to Mrs. Held?

___ 6. Is Held the logical man to do the entertaining during the time of the exhibit?

1.2 If a person says that "many businesses require a great deal of unnecessary extra time and effort of their executive employees," then it is obvious that the person believes: (Check one.)

___ 1. that executives should have their duties as clearly defined as other employees.

___ 2. that business entertainment is of no value to most companies.

___ 3. that a man's family life should have no contact with his work.

___ 4. that executives are often overworked for no real purpose.

If a person states, "A man's progress in his job should be considered as a means for his family's betterment rather than as an end in itself," then it is clear that the person believes: (Check one.)

___ 1. that business organizations often fail to recognize the importance of their employees' private affairs.

___ 2. that the extra efforts required of executives are not necessary.

___ 3. that a man's loyalty to his job is not an absolute good.

___ 4. that executives should spend much more time with their families.

2.1-2.2 Directions: Read the following ten statements carefully. After reading the statements answer the questions that follow.

1. Held would have stayed for the exhibit had not Mr. Collins attempted to influence him through his wife.
2. Very few of the upper level executives have had a vacation in the past eighteen months.
3. The entertaining done by the Bates Company during the merchandising exhibit is considered an unpleasant job.
4. The assistant manager, Mr. Collins, knows some of the suppliers who will be at the exhibit, but not as many as Held knows.
5. Held is anxious to go on this vacation because he hopes his wife will inherit some money from her parents.
6. The Bates Company has learned some valuable information about the future trends from the suppliers at past exhibits.
7. Because of some dealings seven or eight years ago, some of the suppliers feel rather cool toward the assistant manager.
8. Held has in the past shown that he is willing to put in extra time when he felt it was important to the company.
9. There is little likelihood that the entertaining this year will be any more than routine.
10. If Held does not stay for the exhibit the assistant manager will have to do the entertaining.

Which two of the above statements, if considered as true, would be most important in deciding that Held should postpone his vacation and stay for the exhibit?

Statements number ______ and ______

Which two of the above statements, if considered as true, would be most important in deciding that Held be allowed to take his vacation as scheduled?

Statements number ______ and ______

2.3 Assume that the assistant manager made the following statement: "Held is merely being stubborn, and it's because my wife spoke to Mrs. Held." (Which one of the following statements must be assumed to be true in order to accept the above quote as a valid argument for making Held stay for the exhibit. (Check one.)

___ 1. Held is deliberately challenging the assistant manager.

___ 2. Held's vacation is not so important as he has implied.

___ 3. Held is a very "strong-willed" person.

___ 4. Held is the only person able to handle this entertaining correctly.

___ 5. Held realizes that he should stay for the exhibit.

2.4 Directions: Below are some conclusions that readers of this case might have arrived at. For each conclusion write:

A — if you believe that it is a sound conclusion and is supported by the material presented in the case;

B — if you believe it is not a sound conclusion in light of the material presented in the case;

C — if there is not enough evidence to decide whether it is sound or unsound.

___ 1. Held is a person with a very strong feeling of personal integrity.

___ 2. Mr. Collins does not like to do business entertaining.

___ 3. Held is very strongly influenced by his wife's opinions.

___ 4. Held frequently challenges the rules and decisions of the company.

___ 5. Held is a good husband and father and is always concerned about what is best for his family.

___ 6. The assistant manager tends to feel that business affairs must come before personal concerns.

If you had to decide whether or not to allow Held to take his vacation as scheduled, what would you do? (Check one.)

___ 1. allow Held to take his vacation as scheduled

___ 2. persuade Held to stay for the exhibit

3.11 In your opinion, the two most persuasive arguments (from the list on p. 136) in favor of making Held postpone his vacation are: (Check two.)

____1
____2
____3
____4
____5
____6
____7
____8
____9
____10
____11
____12

3.12 In your opinion the two most persuasive arguments (from list on p. 136) in favor of allowing Held to take his vacation as scheduled are: (Check two.)

____1
____2
____3
____4
____5
____6
____7
____8
____9
____10
____11
____12

Values: Specification of Objective

The individual becomes increasingly aware of value conflicts both within himself and within the prevailing culture; he becomes increasingly willing to explore these conflicts and through reflective examination develops a more sensitive and coherent method of choosing the values on which he acts. The following behaviors constitute evidence of achievement of this objective:

1. The individual attempts to make explicit his own beliefs as to the (a) appropriate ends for human activity and the (b) standards of behavior compatible with these ends.
2. He examines the consequences of his own beliefs for himself and society.
3. He examines the prevailing beliefs in society and is able to relate them to his own.
4. He becomes aware of, and is willing to examine, value patterns other than his own and those of his society.
5. He expresses his concern with these value problems by talking with others, by attending various types of discussions of these questions, and by reading in the field.
6. He attempts to clarify his own position by trying to distinguish between facts and assumptions, responding to questions about his attitudes and beliefs, examining the origin of his values and attitudes and testing his value judgment where appropriate.
7. In the application of his value system to specific situations he becomes aware of, and attempts to resolve, value conflicts implicit in his own system and those prevailing in the society.
8. He attempts to achieve increasing correspondence between his value system and his action (*i.e.*, by revising either or both).
9. He works for a world in which others can go through this same process of examining, choosing, and implementing a system based on individual reflection.

The first difficulty in assessing changes toward this objective arises in connection with the definition of "value." In an *anthropological* approach values may be thought of as (a) the goals which organize the daily life of individuals, (b) societal rules of conduct, or (c) standards applied in the assessment of objects and activities. From a *psychological* point of view values include not only the ego ideal and certain aspects of the self image, but also certain beliefs, preferences, and principles of action. From an *evaluation* point of view a value may be defined operationally as that which (a) is prized or cherished (b) in a choice situation (c) repeatedly (as opposed to accidentally or rarely) and (d) penetrates the life situation of the individual to the extent that he will plan and even sacrifice for it and (e) will affirm it.*

The question then arises: Is the objective concerning values merely procedural or also substantive? That is, is any value system which is arrived at via the process described above acceptable? At present we have arrived at a tentative formulation which argues that any system is acceptable, so long as the full process, including 9 above is applied. The process itself therefore excludes certain kinds of value systems, and others are excluded by the requirement that the system must be one which makes it possible for other individuals to go through the same process. In short, a "Kantian" type of criterion has been introduced in the specification of behaviors.

Last, evaluation of changes in values is always bedeviled by two related issues: (1) education vs. psychotherapy and (2) education vs. propaganda. It is generally assumed that any attempt to change an individual's values without forcing the individual to confront and understand his own values is propagandistic rather than educational; on the other hand, forcing the individual to confront his own value system may require a level of insight and understanding more characteristic of psychotherapy than of education. Further it is generally recognized that values are particularly resistant to change in the absence of insight.

Despite these problems there appears to be some agreement that it is the function of education to aid the individual to see the connection between a particular action, position, or decision and its consequences in terms of his personal values and to enable him to re-examine this action, position, or decision in terms of alternative value positions.

Values: Measuring Achievement

No instruments have as yet been developed, even in model form, other than the judgment exercises which are designed to yield evidence on values as well as on logical thinking. The following suggestions, however, are under consideration for further work:

1. A series of paired statements of value positions to which the student responds by choosing one from each pair.

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*The group is indebted to Dr. Louis Raths of the School of Education, New York University, for this statement from an evaluation point of view.

2. A series of brief paragraph descriptions of different types of individuals to which the student may be asked to make one or more of the following responses:
   - (a) To select the paragraph that most nearly describes how he feels now;
   - (b) To select the paragraph that describes a person most similar to himself;
   - (c) To select the paragraph that describes the person he would prefer to be like;
   - (d) To select the paragraph that describes the person he thinks will be most successful (or best liked, etc.).
3. A series of very brief descriptions of specific problems (for example: "The Mississippi Legislature has passed a resolution supporting the apartheid policy of the Union of South Africa, (a) Why do you suppose this action was taken? (b) What do you think of it?" The student's responses to (a) would indicate his awareness and understanding of value systems other than his own; whereas, responses to (b) would provide evidence on his own value system).
4. A series of very brief descriptions of several events which the student is asked to rank according to a scale that indicates his level of concern about each compared with the others. (E.g., rank according to the ones you would "lose the most sleep over.")
5. Further development of the critical judgment cases. Each case should be patterned (a) to include a particular set of value conflicts (real dilemmas), and (b) to permit asking of the student (i) what additional information do you need? and (ii) what questions do you think are not worth asking? Student responses to these latter questions as well as to earlier parts of the exercise would be categorized according to the values they reflect.
6. Problems similar to those used for the exercises described in 5 above should be developed for use as materials for regular discussion sessions and for role playing situations. Observer's records of these special discussions should include participant contributions that are especially significant from the point of view of the value position they reveal.

Part Five

THE AREA OF THE ARTS

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Introductory Note*

Our report of progress in the general Area of the Arts is by all odds the least detailed and most tentative. The Project has only recently undertaken systematic exploration of the area, and we shall consequently here make much use of such terms as "possible directions," "tentative developments," and the like. The slower development of this particular area has been, in part, merely a result of scheduling, but that in turn was to a certain extent a function of our anticipation that this area would involve certain particularly difficult problems.

The previous three areas, whatever their differences, are all related in one way or another to the same phenomena—human behavior and the institutions arising out of human social life. The arts deal with created phenomena subject to widely different criteria, employing totally different media, often in a distractingly idiosyncratic way. Thus, on the basic issue as to which of the arts should be selected for inclusion in the content objectives, three conflicting directions seemed possible: first, to include all of the separate arts that have any pretensions to individual identity—painting, sculpture, etching, music, modern dance, ballet, architecture, drama, novel, poetry, etc.; second, to select those areas in the arts which command the most attention in adult education programs now existing and concentrate exclusively on those; third, to seek some functional grouping of the arts which would reduce them to three or four categories and work through the behavioral objectives to the point of developing models for tests appropriate to each of the general groups. All of these are still open possibilities for future development.

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*Certain materials for this section were developed in cooperation with University College of the University of Chicago, as arranged by Ben Rothblatt, Assistant Dean.

Content Objectives

The present material is based on three assumptions about content. The first is that the arts to be included are: visual, literary, musical, performing. Second, for the purposes of the Project, art is viewed primarily as an object or structure. There is no question that art may as well be viewed as a form of communication, or as a source of pleasure for the one who experiences it. And few instructors would deny that their ultimate objective in teaching the arts is to increase, make more sensitive, make more refined, the pleasure of the consumer of the arts. But we know very little about how to teach directly for such an ultimate objective, and it is close to impossible validly to test its achievement. As in a number of other areas, we must assume that if intermediate, testable objectives are achieved, we have to some immeasurable degree achieved the ultimate objective. Third, art is here being dealt with from the point of view of programs suitable to "consumers" rather than "producers" of these objects or structures.

Behavioral Objectives

The following outline presents general statements describing desired behaviors, each of which would have to be differently specified for the four art areas selected, and in the case of the performing arts separately developed for each.

1. The individual is able to recognize the events that are occurring, for example, that a poem has a certain beat, or that a particular effect relates to the presence of alliteration, etc.
2. The individual can identify some pattern or order in these events, that the meter has a regular pattern, or that a certain metaphor persists.
3. The individual can identify some of the consequences of this pattern of events as contrasted with some other pattern that might have been selected.
4. The individual responds to or is sensitive to a wider, more complex range of possibilities, that is, he applies more sophisticated criteria to his examination of a work of art, for example, sensitivity to a certain style employed, or the use of a particular tradition, etc.
5. The individual is able to apply to the work a more sophisticated level of esthetic values, that is, he is increasingly able to make more sophisticated evaluations of works of art, or develops "better taste."
6. These increased skills and abilities (above) influence his own activity where he has opportunity for choice in this area.

Future development of the behavioral objectives as listed above depends on a number of implicit assumptions and choices to be made in the future among several possible directions.

It is important to note that a number of levels of behavior are implied by the objectives, some of which relate quite readily to the types of objectives specified in the other general areas of the Project.

Objectives 1-3 involve primarily UNDERSTANDING and demand much the same kind of categorizing activity as is required by the "understanding relationships" objectives in other areas (see above). The individual must identify the class of events to which a particular phenomenon belongs.

Objective 4 involves primarily the APPLICATION of other knowledge to the work of art and is in many ways equivalent to the more complex sections of the relationships objective discussed above. Note also that this objective involves some knowledge of the history of art, an important element in art education that would otherwise have been omitted in the present formulation.

Objective 5 involves primarily EVALUATION, including some ability to deal with philosophical presuppositions basic to the art. It parallels the judgment objectives of the other areas, but because of the differences in what is to be evaluated, the specifics of the judgmental behavior are very different.

Objective 6 involves something similar to the INTEREST objective of the other areas, but the types of activities which should be influenced need further exploration. As yet undecided is the question of whether this objective should be limited to likes and dislikes in viewing, listening, etc., or whether the individual's choice of everyday design elements should be influenced. Furthermore, mere heightened activity in the arts (more buying of recordings, for example, or increased gallery-going) does not necessarily indicate a qualitative change in sensitivity or judgment. It is perhaps especially important in the esthetic area that the interest objective contain a qualitative element.

Secondly, it is important to realize that the processes referred to in the statement of objectives are neither isolated nor discrete ones. Rather they presume certain kinds of continua: from the simple to the complex; from parts to whole and whole back to parts; and from simple elements to combinations of elements of increasing complexity, to complete works of art, to various distinguishable schools of art.

Third, the objectives presume that the individual may be expected to operate at increasingly sophisticated levels of discrimination. Even at the very lowest level of Objective 1 he may be able to make only very crude distinctions with respect to style; at a higher level he may be able to identify differences among closely related styles or schools; and at a very high level he may be expected to make very fine distinctions among artists belonging to the same school, or among works of the same artist at different periods.

Finally, these statements of objectives are in such a form that they can be applied not only to each of the arts originally specified in the content objectives (visual, musical, literary, and performing arts), but also to highly specialized programs within any one, for instance, a program in post-Impressionist painting, or, more likely in adult education, one in modern art.

Visual Arts: Measuring Achievement

The most reasonable point of concentration for this sub-area is painting. It is the one in which most courses are given, and for testing purposes certainly the most convenient. At this point in the Project, we can only suggest a number of ideas for future exploration and development:

1. The Interview. The participant is given a good reproduction and asked to talk about it. The interview may be recorded or transcribed from the interviewer's notes. This series of interviews would be coded and evaluated by art educators or critics. Alternatively, the evaluation of the data obtained from interviews might be standardized by selecting certain groups (the uninitiated, the educated amateur, the critic, the practicing artist) recording interviews from a reasonable number of individuals in each group, analyzing these interviews to the point where objective criteria for evaluating an interview emerge. Then, subsequent interviews of participants could be ranked with reasonable objectivity and reliability on the basis of these more or less standardized criteria.
2. Evaluations based on immediate total impression. The participant is confronted by a series of (say 20) good slide reproductions flashed in rapid succession. At the conclusion of the series each participant could be asked to record what he remembered, with some comment about each so recorded. This should give some indication of the things to which he is especially sensitive or responsive.
3. Evaluations based on comparison (or contrast). The participant is given a group of good postcard reproductions and asked to make as many similar (or contrasting) pairs as he can. These various pairings could then be evaluated in terms of the elements to which the individual is responsive. As a further adaptation of this method, the individual might be asked to explain the basis of his pairings; this would provide some evidence on the level of sophistication of his conscious analysis of painting. (Note: This technique could be used to evaluate various levels of discrimination. At the very lowest level, paintings from widely different schools or periods might be included; alternatively, at higher levels, paintings of only a single school or single painter might be used.)
4. Evaluations based on good reproductions, altered in various ways. Essentially the test would consist of a good reproduction and several alterations of it, either as separate copies or as overlays, and the student would be asked to select the one he considered best and perhaps to explain his reasons for that selection. Alternatively, the participant might be given a good reproduction with one small segment blocked out—together with a "kit" of segments—and instructed to select the one which he thinks best completes the picture. This device could be used to test for all kinds of elements in painting: color, tone, line, etc., including interrelations of various elements.

5. Evaluations based on the participants' analysis of different ways of handling the same visual material. The individual might be given different paintings of the same model, or a photograph and painting of the same landscape, or a series such as the famous Water Lilies series. He might then be asked a number of questions about any of these series: what has happened, how has the new effect been created, what is the consequence of some particular change, etc.?

Musical Arts: Measuring Achievement

At a very early stage of the Project, the University of Chicago's Fine Arts Program received a special grant from the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults to develop a device for obtaining evidence on achievement in the rather elaborate music sequence which was part of the Program. The following pages describe the rationale of that test as it was developed and revised in accord with rigorous critical discussion by a group of competent educators in the arts.* The test serves also as an excellent demonstration of a technique for sampling a number of different levels of achievement in the same instrument. In that connection it should be noted that the test for any particular program need include only those items which sample the range of levels appropriate to that specific program.

Music Test Rationale

The Adult Music Listening Test attempts to measure an individual's ability to listen with keen awareness to works of music. It is based on the assumption that this ability is not something fixed which a person either has or does not have, but rather that there are many different degrees of skill in listening and that growth in skill can occur. It contends that listening to music and the performance of music (a skill with which this test is not concerned) are the central musical experiences; hence all items on the test relate to the actual hearing of pieces of music, and no items are intended as tests of vocabulary or of theory.

The first step in the preparation of the test consisted of a series of meetings at which a committee of experts in one or more than one of such fields as the theory, history, psychology, performance, and teaching of music, general humanities teaching at the college level, adult education, and examining, moved from a confrontation with the problem as a whole; through an analysis of the kind and order of separate skills of which the total skill is composed, thus setting up specifications for the test; through a careful consideration and selection of musical works which might be most effectively used for testing; up to the point of the actual writing of items, a task which, for the sake of achieving uniformity was undertaken largely by a smaller subcommittee. Members of the larger committee, all members of the University of Chicago faculty, included the chairman of the Department of Music; the secretary of the Department of Music and author of a recent significant book Emotion and Meaning in Music; the examiner in music for the first-year college Humanities course, who is a concert pianist trained by Schnabel; a composer who was at the same time working on a piano quintet commissioned by the Tanglewood Festival; the chairman of the College Humanities Staff; the chairman of the Fine Arts Program of the Downtown College (an adult education program); and the College Examiner.

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*Professor David Williams of the Humanities Staff of the University of Chicago took major responsibility for the development of this instrument.

Early in discussions of this committee the specifications took the form of a series of graduated levels of skills. Although some definable skills which were named on the lower levels appeared to drop out and be replaced by new skills coming in on the higher levels, in general, basic skills remained central throughout the levels; what changed was the degree of intensity, refinement, and complexity expected within each and also the much greater complexity of the matrix in which they were asked to operate. The number of levels which the committee believed it distinguished, roughly, was at first nine; it settled later on seven, at the point at which the writing of the test began. The test, as a finished product, can be best divided among five levels—the reason for this is first that some reshuffling appeared to meet the facts when the thinking and rethinking necessary for writing the items was done, and second that a part of what had been defined as the top level, and even the top two levels, was abandoned as of no practical use in a test designed for general adult, not professional use.

The test consists of two parts, the second part being more advanced than the first. Each part requires about one hour. There are 36 items in Part One and 24 items in Part Two. A separate test booklet for each part, to be given to every person taking the test at the beginning of that part, contains the items. All items are multiple-choice, with four responses given (except in Part One where nine items offer five responses and one offers three responses). An answer sheet, and pencil for machine scoring, must be given out with the booklet. A tape* accompanies each part

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*Musical reproductions on the tape were used by courtesy of Westminster Records.

(Part One and Part Two each use two reels of tape). This tape is to be played by the supervisor of the test whenever it is administered. It contains all music to be heard during the test, divided, repeated, and separated exactly as required, along with a complete commentary, with announcement of item numbers, instructions, etc., and allowance of time for thinking and for marking the items. The tape is to be played continuously, without any stopping or replaying of sections.

Some evidence of the reliability of the test has already been collected. In June, 1959, a version of Part Two of the test was administered to the 400 students who had just completed the Humanities One course in the College of the University of Chicago, a year's course which constitutes an introduction to the arts, a third of which, distributed through the year, is given to music. Part One of the test was not used with these students since it was assumed that the year's training had placed them generally at a more advanced level than the levels measured in Part One. The 18-item version of Part Two which these students took differed in some respects from the 24-item final version. However, the revisions and some rearrangement of order and format of the items represent no change in content but an attempt rather to make the examination more perfect technically, to do away with extraneous difficulties in reading and following the examination which might prevent its accurately measuring the students' listening. The final 24-item Part Two should be a more reliable instrument than the earlier 18-item version. Nevertheless the reliability of the earlier version, as administered to the 400 Humanities One students, proved tc be .646. An item analysis, in which all responses from a sample of 50 high papers, 50 middle, and 50 low were recorded, the distribution of high, middle, and low being determined on the basis of total score, revealed that all 18 of these items discriminated satisfactorily among these groups of students.

Certain evidence remains to be gathered. Both parts of the test should be administered in adult education programs to determine what are the levels of competence of adults and how they compare with those of college students. It may be noted that on the 18-item version of Part Two the distribution of the 400 Humanities One students showed 1% (4 students) answering all 18 items correctly; 4+% scoring 17 or more; 10+% scoring 16 or more; the median score was a little less than 12.8 (over 70% of the number of items).

The test will need also to be administered to students at various stages of music courses in programs of adult education to determine whether progress is achieved as a result of participation in the program, and whether not only a student's total score but his coherent movement from one level to the one above follows from his participation.

Experiments with different scoring procedures should be undertaken—to see, for instance, if by observing not simply total score but score on each level and setting as a criterion of successful performance on a given level the correct answering, say, of over 3/4 of the items relevant to that level, the precise stage which a person has reached in his ability to listen to music can be marked.

On the first level, Level One, we will call it, the individual should be able to make gross or elementary distinctions (some of them almost matters of mere hearing) between high and low in pitch, loud and soft, long and short in duration, slow and fast, metrical and non-metrical, lyric and dance, gay and sad in character, thick and thin in texture, very stringy and very brassy in tone color. Certain of these, as long and short, slow and fast, are assumed to be such rudimentary matters of hearing that test time was not given to them. Items 1-4 of Part One test the student's ability to make meaningful distinctions between high and low as they function in actual music he is hearing. Some pitch-memory is involved, as in item 3, where the last note of melody is compared with the first—after several notes, of course, have intervened. Items 10-13 test the distinctions in character on the first level; items 14-17 test metrical vs. non-metrical. Item 18 combines the testing of pitch register with that of tone color. Perhaps it is a borderline item, whose complexity and insufficient grossness in distinction of color should elevate it to Level Two. It is listed as Level One here, but its performance should be watched.

In summary, Items 1-4, 10-18 (13 items altogether) belong to Level One.

What happens on Level Two is primarily that the distinctions discovered on Level One are put to more complex musical uses: particularly, grasp of pitch distinctions and of rhythm, and strengthening of musical memory lead to a grasp of form and pattern in their simplest manifestations. Items 5 and 6, belonging to the lower echelons of Level Two, test one's sense of a musical phrase, and the degree to which a phrase sounds finished. Items 7, 8, and 9 move immediately to the higher echelons of

Level Two to test this sense of phrase, of finished vs. unfinished, in action as one moves through parts of a Mozart piano sonata. Items 21 and 22 on Level Two test the musical memory, its application to beginnings and endings, over a longer span, on a more complex level, than was done on Level One, involving remembering and distinguishing tempos and rhythms. Item 28 carries the sense of metrical beat a level above Level One, by distinguishing between down and up beat; Item 29 gives musical meaning as well as greater refinement to a distinction in pitch which was merely technical in item 4 on Level One. Items 30, 31, and 32, test rhythm, tone, color, tempo, and pitch-direction in an environment considerably more complex than that of Level One.

In summary, Items 5-9, 21-22, 28-32 (12 items altogether) belong to Level Two.

On Level Three the listener is asked to distinguish among the strands of sound in music of ever greater complexity. Tune is distinguished from accompaniment, contrapuntal writing from homophonic; the parts in three-voice writing are disentangled; imitation is recognized as such. Greater sensitivity is required in distinguishing tone colors; massed instrumental sound is distinguished from the individual instrument. The skills in awareness of factors of rhythm and melodic motion measured on the lower levels are necessary to separating out the textural threads on Level Three but they need not be tested directly. Items 19 and 20, and 23 through 27 measure skill in dealing with texture on the new level. Items 33-36 extend the use of skills the student has demonstrated in matters of dynamics, meter, tempo, form, color, texture to a testing of his awareness of the contribution these elements make toward total effects of tension and release of tension, contrast, unity.

In summary, Items 19-20, 23-27, and 33-36 (11 items altogether) belong to Level Three.

Part Two, comprising Levels Four and Five, may be described as in a sense a culmination of what the listener is aiming toward as he works his way up through the levels of Part One. Here he proceeds through an entire movement of a symphony by Schubert side by side with an entire movement of a quartet by Beethoven (both more complex than the Haydn of Part One), and he exhibits his capacity to grasp the differing total structures of the two works. He is now expected to make distinctions of key and of mode: this marks the level as clearly Level Four. At the same time there is disclosed his ability to use in this new complex environment distinctions of tone color, form, sense of stability, recognition of imitation, etc., already tested in simpler environments. Level Five is identified in the latter half of Part Two, when both symphony movement and quartet movement are far enough along so that the listener is facing a much greater challenge to his ability to grasp form, to compare sections, to mark repetitions and note differences, to sense the function of every part in the design of the whole, than when he was dealing only with the opening sections of the movements. No new single skills are introduced but the enlarged matrix asks for what may be termed a new composite skill.

Items 1-12 belong to Level Four, and Items 13-24 belong to Level Five (12 items on each level).

Review of these assignments of items to levels should occur after the test has been administered to sufficient persons to determine if there are consistent indications that certain items belong to a lower or higher level than assigned here.

Adult Music Listening Test: Part One

These first questions concern your ability to hear how a melody is organized. For questions 1-4 you will hear the same melody played several times. You will hear the melody played through once before beginning on the questions.

The melody is in two parts. You will now hear just the first part played alone.

1. The first part of the melody
   - A. goes up only.
   - B. goes down only.
   - C. goes up and down but its general tendency is up.
   - D. goes up and down but its general tendency is down.
2. The second part of the same melody will be played. This part
   - A. goes up only.
   - B. goes down only.
   - C. goes up and down but its general tendency is up.
   - D. goes up and down but its general tendency is down.
3. The whole melody will be played for question 3.
   - A. This melody stops on the same note as that with which it began.
   - B. This melody stops on a higher note than that with which it began.

C. This melody stops on a lower note than that with which it began.

4. The whole melody will be played again. The melody moves

   A. mostly stepwise throughout (that is, notes close together in pitch).

   B. mostly by skips throughout (that is, notes further apart in pitch).

   C. more stepwise in the first part than in the second.

   D. more stepwise in the second part than in the first.

Questions 5-9 concern your ability to hear whether a phrase (musical statement) sounds finished or unfinished. For questions 5 and 6 four short phrases will be played; after a pause all four will be played through again.

5. Which of the four phrases sounds most finished?

   A. Phrase I.

   B. Phrase II.

   C. Phrase III.

   D. Phrase IV.

The four phrases will be played once more.

6. Which of the phrases sounds least finished?

   A. Phrase I.

   B Phrase II.

   C. Phrase III.

   D. Phrase IV.

For questions 7, 8, and 9 you will hear three excerpts from a Mozart Piano Sonata. Match each excerpt with the statement that best describes it in the key below. You will be given time to read the key before the first excerpt is played.

A. This excerpt moves toward a point of rest, reaches it and sounds finished.

B. This excerpt moves toward a point of rest, reaches it but fails to sound finished.

C. This excerpt moves toward a point of rest and reaches it after considerable delay.

7. Excerpt I.

8. Excerpt II.

9. Excerpt III.

The next four questions concern your ability to recognize the character or mood of a piece. Excerpts from four different works will be played. Match each excerpt with the statement which best describes it in the key below.

A. Somewhat vague, dreamy, with a touch of melancholy.

B. March-like, building towards a strong climax.

C. March-like, but humorous as in a parody.

D. Primitive, almost brutal.

E. Gay, graceful, dance.

10. Excerpt I.
11. Excerpt II.
12. Excerpt III.
13. Excerpt IV.

In questions 14-17 you will be asked about the way in which the beat or pulse functions in four different pieces of music. Four excerpts from four different works will be played. After the first playing, all four excerpts will be played through again. Match each excerpt with the statement that best describes it in the key below.

A. The beat is both marked and regular.

B. The beat is marked but not regular.

C. The beat, though regular, does not stand out prominently.

D. Although the feeling of beat is marked and regular, the organization of pulses shifts at times so that the piece seems strained and unrelaxed.

14. Excerpt I.
15. Excerpt II.
16. Excerpt III.
17. Excerpt IV.

The next five questions ask you to compare two passages from the first movement of Schubert's C Major Symphony. Questions 18, 19, and 20 are concerned with instrumentation.

18. The first of the two passages will now be played. It consists of a melody played twice. The second time the melody is heard it is played by

A. the same instruments, but higher than the first time.

B. the same instruments, but lower than the first time.

C. different instruments, and higher than the first time.

D. different instruments, and lower than the first time.

19. The same passage will be played again. In this passage the melody is

A. accompanied by the same instruments throughout.

B. accompanied first by one group of instruments and then by another.

C. first heard unaccompanied and then played together with an accompaniment.

D. unaccompanied throughout.

20. The second of the two passages will now be played through twice. Which statement best applies?

A. The melody is played by violins throughout.

B. Instruments of contrasting sounds play the melody as the passage progresses.

C. It begins with one unaccompanied tune only, and this is later filled out with harmony.

D. None of the above.

Question 21 is concerned with the melodies of the two passages. The two passages will now be played with a slight pause between them. After a moment they will each be played again.

21. The melodies of the two passages

A. are exactly the same.

B. are very different.

C. begin alike, but end differently.

D. begin differently, but end alike.

Question 22 deals with the role of the two passages in the movement. The two passages will be played once more.

22. The two passages play very different roles in the movement. The second of the two passages sounds like the end of the movement because

A. it is less rhythmically decisive than the first passage since the beat is not emphasized and the rhythm of the melody is obscured.

B. it is rhythmically more decisive than the first passage since the beat is emphasized by the drum and by the rhythm of the melody.

C. fewer instruments play and thus the sound is not as full as in the first passage, which allows the movement to fade out.

D. it presents several melodies, thus providing a summary of the movement.

Questions 23-27 concern your ability to hear the relationships among the various strands of sound within a musical "fabric" (texture). Take time to read over the key carefully before answering the questions. You will hear all five excerpts played through once and after a pause they will be played again. Match each excerpt with the statement which best describes it in the key below.

A. The excerpt begins with a single instrument playing an accompaniment; then a second instrument enters playing a melody and a third instrument interrupts with a continuation of the melody.

B. The excerpt begins with a single instrument playing alone; then other instruments enter, one after another, playing substantially the same tune as the first instrument.

C. The excerpt begins with many instruments playing the same melody; very shortly these same instruments diverge so that some are playing the melody and some the accompaniment.

D. The excerpt begins with a group of instruments playing the same melody; then other instruments enter, some playing a melody while others play an accompaniment to it. After an alternation between these two groups, both groups play together.

E. The excerpt begins with a single melodic line in a low register; while this melodic line is repeated several times in the lowest part, the other parts play something else.

23. Excerpt I.

24. Excerpt II.

25. Excerpt III.

26. Excerpt IV.

27. Excerpt V.

In the next portion of the examination you will be asked a series of questions about one piece of music—part of a Symphony by Haydn. You will hear the whole piece through once before you begin work on the questions.

In order to be able to refer to the parts of the piece we have made a diagram of it below. All the "a's" represent phrases of similar melodic material; all the "b's" represent phrases of different material from "a" but similar to each other. The piece will now be played with each of its parts indicated as in the diagram.

$$\underline{a^1\ a^2}\quad \underline{b^1\ a^3}\quad \underline{b^2\ a^4}$$

You will now hear just section a^1.

28. Section a^1 begins

A. with an up-beat and ends with an up-beat.

B. with an up-beat and ends with a down-beat.

C. with a down-beat but ends with an up-beat.

D. with a down-beat and ends with a down-beat.

Section a^1 will be played again.

29. The second part of section a^1

A. is organized around a descending scale line which continues the main melodic motion begun in the first part.

B. is organized around a descending scale line which reverses the main melodic motion of the first part.

C. is organized around a descending scale line which contrasts with a lack of motion in the first part.

D. descends in a less direct manner than the first part.

You will now hear sections a^1 and a^2.

30. The melody of section a^2

A. repeats the melody and rhythm of a^1 exactly.

B. repeats the melody of a^1 but has a different rhythm.

C. repeats the melody of a^1 but ends in a more conclusive manner.

D. uses only a fragment of the melody presented in a^1.

Sections a^1 and a^2 will be played once more.

31. With respect to instruments it may be said that
    - A. both sections are the same.
    - B. a^2 differs because horns are now added to the accompaniment.
    - C. a^2differs because woodwinds are now added to the accompaniment.
    - D. a^2 differs because drums and horns are now added to the accompaniment.

You will now hear sections a^2 and b^1 twice with a slight pause between each playing.

32. The b^1 section differs from the a^2 section because
    - A. its tempo is slower.
    - B. its tempo is faster.
    - C. woodwinds have been added to the orchestration.
    - D. its basic melodic tendency is upward.

You will now hear section a^2 and b^1 once more, for questions 33 and 34.

33. The sense of cumulative tension produced by section b^1 results from
    - A. the continuous increase in loudness.
    - B. the continuous quickening of the tempo.
    - C. the continuous repetition of the same accompaniment figure.
    - D. the repetition of an insistent melodic figure.
34. This sense of cumulative tension
    - A. is resolved completely at the end of b^1 so that the piece could have ended here.
    - B. is resolved at the end of b^1, but the piece could not have ended here.
    - C. is entirely unresolved at the end of b^1; the section is at its point of highest tension.
    - D. is entirely unresolved at the end of b^1 but the point of highest tension has passed.

You will now hear the entire piece played through for questions 35 and 36.

35. Contrast is created in the piece primarily by
    - A. a variety of melodic or thematic "ideas."
    - B. a decided change in dynamics (loud and soft).
    - C. a change in the orchestration of the various sections.
    - D. a change from a single, accompanied melody line to several melodies being played at once.

36. Structural unity is created in this piece primarily by

A. the tempo remaining the same throughout.

B. the meter remaining the same throughout.

C. the repetition of a melodic fragment.

D. the return of the more stable "a" sections after the less stable "b" sections.

Adult Music Listening Test: Part Two

In this part of the examination you will be asked to compare the organizational procedure of two works. The first work is a movement from Schubert's Second Symphony; the second is a movement from Beethoven's String Quartet, op. 18, no. 4.

You will find that every set of possible responses occurs twice, because the same questions are asked about the two different pieces. To make your reading problem easier, you may be assured that you need not look for changes of phrase or word in the second occurrence of a set of responses: the pairs are identical.

You will hear first the opening section (excerpt I) of the Symphony movement played twice, followed by the opening section (excerpt I) of the Quartet movement played twice. These playings are all you will be given for questions 1 through 4.

In the diagrams below, all the "a's" represent phrases with similar musical material, b and c represent phrases with somewhat different musical material. ||:   :|| means that the music between the dots is repeated.

Read through question 4 below before the music begins.

1. The opening of the Symphony movement (excerpt I) may be best described by which of the diagrams below?

A. ||: aa' :||: ba'' :||

B. || aa' || ba'' ||

C. ||: ab :||: ba'' :||

D. ||: ab :||: ca'' :||

2. The b section of the opening excerpt of the Symphony movement provides contrast because

A. it presents entirely new material.

B. it is in a new key.

C. it is more stable than the a section.

D. it is less stable than the a section.

3. The opening of the Quartet movement (excerpt I) may be best described by which of the diagrams below?

A. ||: aa' :||: ba'' :||

B. || aa' || ba'' ||

C. ||: ab :||: ba'' :||

D. ||: ab :||: ca'' :||

4. The b section of the opening excerpt of the Quartet movement provides contrast because

   A. it presents entirely new material.

   B. it is in a new key.

   C. it is more stable than the a section.

   D. it is less stable than the a section.

You will now hear excerpt I of each piece again, together with its continuation (excerpt II). Read through question 8 before the music begins, since no other playing will be given for questions 5 through 8.

5. The continuation of the Symphony movement (excerpt II) presents

   A. the same tune as excerpt I played by the violins.

   B. the same tune as excerpt I played by the oboe.

   C. a new tune played by the violins.

   D. a new tune played by the oboe.

6. Further, this continuation of the Symphony movement (excerpt II) is

   A. in the same key as excerpt I and in the major mode.

   B. in the same key as excerpt I and in the minor mode.

   C. in a new key and in the major mode.

   D. in a new key and in the minor mode.

7. The continuation of the Quartet movement (excerpt II) presents

   A. the same tune as excerpt I played by the violins.

   B. the same tune as excerpt I played by the oboe.

   C. a new tune played by the violins.

   D. a new tune played by the oboe.

8. Further, this continuation of the Quartet movement (excerpt II) is

   A. in the same key as excerpt I and in the major mode.

   B. in the same key as excerpt I and in the minor mode.

   C. in a new key and in the major mode.

   D. in a new key and in the minor mode.

You will now hear excerpts I and II from each work and a further continuation of them (excerpt III).

9. The further continuation of the Symphony movement (excerpt III) presents

   A. an exact repetition of the beginning of the movement (excerpt I).

   B. a repetition of the beginning of the movement (excerpt I), but now the literal repetitions are varied by the addition of a new accompaniment figure.

C. a repetition of the tune from the beginning of the movement (excerpt I), but now the tune is broken up among several instruments.

D. a repetition of the tune from the beginning of the movement (excerpt I), but now the tune is played against an imitative counterpoint.

10. The further continuation of the Quartet movement (excerpt III) presents

A. an exact repetition of the beginning of the movement (excerpt I).

B. a repetition of the beginning of the movement (excerpt I), but now the literal repetitions are varied by the addition of a new accompaniment figure.

C. a repetition of the beginning of the movement (excerpt I), but now the tune is broken up among several instruments.

D. a repetition of the beginning of the movement (excerpt I), but now the tune is played against an imitative counterpoint.

You will now hear the two movements once more from the beginning and a further continuation of them (excerpt IV).

11. Contrast is created in this section (excerpt IV) of the Symphony movement because

A. the tune originally played by the violins (excerpt I) has now lost its rhythmic characteristics while still maintaining its original phrase structure.

B. the tune originally played by the violins (excerpt I) has now lost its original phrase structure while still maintaining its rhythmic characteristics.

C. an entirely new tune is now played by the violins and it is in the major mode.

D. an entirely new tune is now played by the violins and it is in the minor mode.

12. Contrast is created in this section (excerpt IV) of the Quartet movement because

A. the tune originally played by the violins (excerpt I) has now lost its rhythmic characteristics while still maintaining its original phrase structure.

B. the tune originally played by the violins (excerpt I) has now lost its original phrase structure while still maintaining its rhythmic characteristics.

C. an entirely new tune is now played by the violins and it is in the major mode.

D. an entirely new tune is now played by the violins and it is in the minor mode.

You will now hear just the next section of each piece (excerpt V).

13. Considering the piece from the beginning, we may say that this section (excerpt V) of the Symphony movement could have been anticipated because

A. it presents another return of the material from the beginning of the movement, following the pattern of return after the first contrasting section.

B. the tune from the beginning of the movement is still present, but this time it is played by a still different instrument and with new embellishment.

C. the return to the material from the opening of the piece was prepared by a moving-onward, unstable section.

D. it develops material heard earlier in the piece.

14. Considering the piece from the beginning, we may say that this section (excerpt V) of the Quartet movement could have been anticipated because

A. it presents another return of the material from the beginning of the movement, following the pattern of return after the first contrasting section.

B. the tune from the beginning of the movement is still present, but this time it is played by a still different instrument and with new embellishment.

C. the return to the material from the opening of the piece was prepared by a moving-onward, unstable section.

D. it develops material heard earlier in the piece.

You will now hear excerpt V of each piece again and its continuation (excerpt VI) played twice. Read through question 18 before the music begins, since no other playing will be given for questions 15 through 18.

15. Considering the piece from the beginning, we may say that in this section (excerpt VI) of the Symphony movement unity is achieved because

A. the phrase structure of the preceding section is maintained.

B. only fragments of the preceding section are heard.

C. the minor mode of the preceding section is in general maintained.

D. two of the tunes heard earlier in the movement are developed.

16. Within this section (excerpt VI) of the Symphony movement there are changes of

A. neither key nor mode.

B. both key and mode.

C. key but not mode.

D. mode but not key.

17. Considering the piece from the beginning, we may say that in this section (excerpt VI) of the Quartet movement unity is achieved because

A. the phrase structure of the preceding section is maintained.

B. only fragments of the preceding section are heard.

C. the minor mode of the preceding section is in general maintained.

D. two of the tunes heard earlier in the movement are developed.

18. Within this section (excerpt VI) of the Quartet movement there are changes of

A. neither key nor mode.

B. both key and mode.

C. key but not mode.

D. mode but not key.

You will now hear the Symphony movement played all the way through. You will base your answers to questions 19 through 21 on this, the final playing of the Symphony movement.

19. The end of the Symphony movement presents

A. a "summary" of all the tunes heard earlier in the piece.

B. another statement of the tune heard at the beginning of the piece, with its original structure still maintained.

C. a coda or "tail" in a faster tempo. Fragments from two different sections heard earlier in the piece are now heard together.

D. a coda or "tail" using the opening fragment from the tune heard at the beginning of the piece and played over a note which is heard continuously in the bass.

20. The Symphony movement may be described as a piece with clearly defined sections. Which of the statements below further describes the organization of the Symphony movement?

A. Each of the sections presents a varied statement of the same tune, the whole ending with a coda.

B. The movement is characterized by the return of a single tune after contrasting sections. One section presents a development of this tune and the movement ends with a coda.

C. The movement is characterized by the return of a single tune after contrasting sections. The returning tune always occurs with its original phrase structure.

D. The movement presents two tunes, a development of them, and then a return to the two tunes heard at the beginning. The movement ends with a coda.

21. Which of the principles of organization below best describes the Symphony movement?

A. Sonata form.

B. Fugue.

C. Rondo.

D. Theme and Variations.

You will now hear the Quartet movement all the way through; this will be the final playing. As you will expect, the questions and possible responses for 22-24 are the same as for 19-21.

22. The end of the Quartet movement presents

A. a "summary" of all the tunes heard earlier in the piece.

B. another statement of the tune heard at the beginning of the piece, with its original structure still maintained.

C. a coda or "tail" in a faster tempo. Fragments from two different sections heard earlier in the piece are now heard together.

D. a coda or "tail" using the opening fragment from the tune heard at the beginning of the piece and played over a note which is heard continuously in the bass.

23. The Quartet movement may be described as a piece with clearly defined sections. Which of the statements below further describes the organization of the Quartet movement?

A. Each of the sections presents a varied statement of the same tune, the whole ending with a coda.

B. The movement is characterized by the return of a single tune after contrasting sections. One section presents a development of this tune and the movement ends with a coda.

C. The movement is characterized by the return of a single tune after contrasting sections. The returning tune always occurs with its original phrase structure.

D. The movement presents two tunes, a development of them, and then a return to the two tunes heard at the beginning. The movement ends with a coda.

24. Which of the principles of organization below best describes the Quartet movement?

A. Sonata form.

B. Fugue.

C. Rondo.

D. Theme and Variations.

Literary Arts: Measuring Achievement

In many ways the development of tests for the literary forms is the least difficult of all the measurement problems the Project faces. Further development of this sub-area will move in two directions:

First, already developed tests of critical judgment (particularly those which rely on poems short enough to be reproduced in the test booklet) will be examined to discover whether they can be adapted without difficulty to the needs of adult education.

Second, judgment exercises will be developed directly for the Project, based on some further specification of the general objectives as outlined previously. The beginning of such an attempt is included below as an example of the types of approaches we have been considering.

Sample Exercise

Instructions: 1) Read the following poem and the two paraphrases which appear below it and circle the number of the paraphrase that seems to you to be the best rendering of the poem's meaning. 2) Compare lines 9 and 10 of the poem and their corresponding lines in the paraphrase. Check the three most important reasons from the following list for preferring the poetic lines to the paraphrase.

(1) Leave me, O Love, which reachest but to dust;
(2) And thou, my mind, aspire to higher things;
(3) Grow rich in that which never taketh rust,
(4) Whatever fades but fading pleasure brings.
(5) Draw in thy beams, and humble all thy might
(6) To that sweet yoke where lasting freedoms be;
(7) Which breaks the clouds and opens forth the light,
(8) That doth both shine and give us sight to see.
(9) O take fast hold; let that light be thy guide
(10) In this small course which birth draws out to death,
(11) And think how evil becometh him to slide,
(12) Who seeketh heav'n, and comes of heav'nly breath.
(13) Then farewell, world; thy uttermost I see;
(14) Eternal Love, maintain thy life in men.

Paraphrase 1

The poet asks release from a love that is merely material and invites his soul to spiritual ideals; to acquire possessions which are permanent since the satisfactions which attend upon impermanent things are themselves transient. He asks his mind to submit itself to the kind of ruling that may be considered a higher and permanent freedom, the source and inspiration of true insight. He asks his mind to be tenacious in its devotion to the divine guidance available in the short period of life. He points to the moral undesirability of the aspirant to paradise being a backslider. He bids goodbye to the material world whose limits are apparent and prays for the sustenance of the divine and everlasting love.

Paraphrase 2

The poet is about to die. He is reflecting on his fleshly love. Because he believes in immortality, he aspires to take with him the only love it is possible to take beyond the grave. He praises nature, and asks for the life-giving warmth and light of the sun, and regrets his former evil ways, though he clings to their memory. In his last moment he asks his beloved to breathe her life into him.

- ____ The poetry is more beautiful.
- ____ The poetic lines rhyme.
- ____ The use of words like "oh" and "thy" produce a more exalted effect.
- ____ The rhythm in the poetic lines suggests erotic love.
- ____ The first four words of line 9, in being a series of short, heavily stressed sounds, give the plea more emphasis.
- ____ All the words in the two poetic lines are monosyllabic.
- ____ The metaphor in the poetic lines leads to analysis of metaphysical concepts.
- ____ The repetition of s's and l's in the poetic line binds them into a tighter unity.
- ____ The imagery of a light serving as a guide makes running life's course visual.
- ____ The poetic lines are more effective because they make an allusion to Shakespeare's phrase "Dusty death."

Part Six

EVALUATION AND THE ROLE OF THE ADULT EDUCATOR

It is increasingly clear that there are certain essential characteristics of education required for sane and productive existence in a free society. This report has attempted to define in a preliminary form the requisites of such an education and to state them in operational terms, such that it is possible to develop instruments to determine the extent to which such education takes place, and to test a series of hypotheses about the learning situations most likely to develop the required knowledge and skills.

The primary aims of the total Evaluation Project may therefore be formulated as follows:

1. to state a series of general objectives on the importance of which a majority of continuing liberal education programs can agree;
2. to specify with some precision the intellectual and behavioral changes in program participants that would indicate the achievement of these general objectives;
3. to develop specifications for and models of instruments that would measure these behavioral changes;
4. to construct and validate instruments consonant with these specifications.

While we regard the achievement of the above goals as a necessary precondition for the testing of hypotheses about the effectiveness of alternative curricula and methods in adult programs, the availability of instruments permitting rational appraisal of their achievement will also contribute to the accomplishment of certain additional goals:

5. to suggest methods, materials, and activities most appropriate to the various objectives, suggestions which constitute hypotheses susceptible to testing by the use of the then available instruments;
6. to enable the field as a whole to plan controlled experiments to determine the extent to which these hypotheses are borne out;
7. by the development of related series of evaluation devices that can be employed at various stages during the program, to provide adult students with the opportunity to assess their own needs and their progress toward achievement of educational aims they have themselves recognized.

At the conclusion of the total Project, therefore, we expect to make a series of reports designed primarily for administrators, planners, and teachers of programs of liberal education for adults and for persons interested in research on adult behavior. Concretely, three types of publications are planned:

1. A series of five reports, each of which describes the objectives, the methods and materials most likely to achieve them, devices for gathering evidence of their achievement, and the interpretation and use of test results in program development and student guidance. Each report will be devoted to one of the following: a) the moral and ethical area; b) the political and social area; c) the community participation area; d) the esthetic area; and e) the scientific area (under discussion).

2. A series of specific evaluation instruments. These instruments will be prepared for publication in looseleaf form so that a program director will be able to select suitable sections from a number of instruments and thus be able to design an evaluation plan uniquely appropriate to the objectives of his specific program. An explanatory manual will be prepared to accompany each instrument.

3. A series of reports on the results of applying various instruments to specific programs, which will provide the field with models for their use and suggest lines of fruitful experimentation.

The eventual availability of these materials, and of a developing body of knowledge about their use, suggests one answer to the often-discussed anomaly of the adult educator's role. Particularly in the university setting, most aspects of the educational task tend to be assigned to personnel of divisions outside the adult unit. The basic curriculum development role falls to the department, teaching to departmental faculty, and so forth. As a consequence the educational role of the administrator of the adult division lacks definition and purpose and often develops unevenly in response to purely local circumstances. But our Project thus far suggests that there is at least one aspect of the educational process peculiar to higher education for adults—its objectives, and that an evaluation process based on an acceptance of them demands special knowledge which only the adult educator is likely to be able to contribute.

Given the materials which we have listed as the planned outcome of the Project, the administrator of adult programs has, for example, the following possibilities open to him:

Special curriculum building. Without special degrees in a particular field, the adult educator can nevertheless raise questions about how well existing curricula and courses, often taken without adaptation from the undergraduate curriculum, fit the requirements posed by objectives of adult programs. One does not need to be a sociologist to ask how well an introductory course in sociology answers the need of developing better judgment about major issues in society. Indeed, the specification of the objectives and the outline of the priority of the various subject matter issues themselves suggest special courses and programs tailored to meet the most important needs of adult students.

In a narrower focus, of course, evaluation instruments can be used to check how well a particular course, whose objectives parallel some of those in our study, is actually succeeding in doing what it sets out to do.

Improvement of instruction. The developing resources will give adult educators generally an opportunity to check a number of hypotheses which most of us have accepted for some time without much evidence. Using common instruments to test a variety of teaching procedures employed in courses with similar objectives, we can slowly build a common fund of knowledge about the most effective materials and methods for adults. Beyond this kind of cooperative experimentation, the products of the Project have a more immediate application: to help instructors who are preparing courses for adults to plan more carefully, to make their classroom procedures consonant with their objectives, and to encourage systematic evaluation of effectiveness.

Use in student counseling. One of the serious lacks in adult education is a device to help the adult student evaluate his knowledge, skills, and abilities against some relatively objective and general educational standard. Typically such evaluations are now available only in terms of units of credit corresponding to the normal undergraduate curriculum. But even if an adult has never had a course in music appreciation, for instance, he may already have acquired informally most of the understandings and skills he might reasonably expect from taking such a course. The Project will ultimately make available to the adult educator a range of tests which he in turn can utilize with those adults who come to him for counseling and placement; to enable him to determine where the individual "places," not on the basis of some relatively artificial system of credits, but in terms of the type and level of intellectual skills he is able to bring to bear on a range of important issues and materials.

Other research. Existing programs of continuing education and those that are being developed rest on certain assumptions about the adult learner, and certain hypotheses about the nature of the learning process at that age level, the extent to which changes in adult behavior can be induced in an educational situation, and the optimal conditions for effecting such changes as are possible. Finally, therefore, because it will provide common, objective yardsticks against which to measure achievement, the Project opens up a whole field of research for the adult division administrator and his staff in the systematic exploration of these hypotheses, a field which, if cultivated, can only lead to a more established position within the university's system of values.

Appendices

EVALUATION PROJECT VITAL STATISTICS

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I. Conferences and Workshops

A. Princeton Conference. A general session to explore the desirability of undertaking the Project. Princeton, New Jersey, April 11-13, 1958. Report distributed; no longer available.

B. Chicago Regional Workshop. A small meeting to work through the statement of objectives and suggest testing devices for judgment and interest objectives. Chicago, Illinois, August 5-8, 1958. Report no longer available.

C. New York Regional Workshop. A small meeting to work through objectives and suggest testing devices for judgment and relationships objectives. New York, New York, October 17-20, 1958. Report no longer available.

D. New Orleans Regional Workshop. A small meeting to work through objectives and suggest testing devices for judgment objective and Community Participation Area. New Orleans, Louisiana, January 16-18, 1959. Report no longer available.

E. Behavioral Science Meeting. A meeting of behavioral scientists to review statements of objectives and to suggest optimum methods of achieving such changes of behavior. Ann Arbor, Michigan, June 28, 1959.

F. Second General Conference. A session including all participants to review programs, to examine instruments developed by technical consultants on basis of original suggestions, and to plan future directions. Chicago, Illinois, October 9-11, 1959.

G. Workshop Session on Political and Social Area. A meeting to review development relevant to this area, revise objectives, and plan future work. Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York, January 25-26, 1960.

H. Workshop Sessions on Community Participation Area. Purpose as above. Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri, March 2-3, and May 24, 1960.

I. Workshop Session on Moral and Ethical Area. Purpose as above. New York University, New York, New York, April 17-18, 1960.

J. Workshop Session on the Area of the Arts. Purpose as above. University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, September 16-18, 1960.

II. Roster of Participants

Abercrombie, Gurth L. — Associate Dean, School of Business, Northeastern University, Boston, Massachusetts

Alter, Henry C. — American Foundation for Continuing Education, Chicago, Illinois

Archer, Sidney — Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York

Barton, George E., Jr. — Director, Teacher Education, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana

Belth, Marc — Professor of Philosophy, School of General Studies, Queens College, Flushing, New York

Berenda, Carlton — University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma

Bloom, Benjamin — Professor of Education and Examiner, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois

Blough, Margaret — Union Research and Education Project, University College, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois

Boardman, Harry — Eastern Regional Director, American Foundation for Continuing Education, New York, New York

Boler, Jessica M. — University College, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York

Bovard, Everett — Office of Television Activities, Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri

Bryan, Wilhelmus B. — Director, Minnesota School of Art, Minneapolis, Minnesota

Burch, Glen — formerly Director, Study-Discussion Program Development, Fund for Adult Education, White Plains, New York; now Head, University of California Extension, Davis, California

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THE CONTINUING LEARNER

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INTRODUCTION

The following papers, along with Mr. Houle's The Inquiring Mind,* represent pioneering attempts to develop theory and obtain empirical information about types of adult learners, including one recognized but little studied, and variously called the "self-learner," "self-taught man" or "auto-didact," as well as a perhaps more common general type, the consistent participant in educational activity. The study of such learners, the various characteristics they have and the personal and environmental factors which help to produce them is of obvious importance for education in general, and for liberal education in particular. Surely one of the more important outcomes of a liberal education is the development of an attitude and a habit of consistent curiosity and investigation. If this is so, the paucity of prior work in this area is disconcerting. Educational researchers have focused their studies on effects which can be produced by relatively short-term educational efforts. The development of an attitude toward learning must be the product of a long series of events (as is true of any other stable, long-lasting attitude); research aimed at understanding its antecedents does not set itself an easy task.

While the papers in the present collection attempt to answer only a few of the important questions one might raise in research on self-learners, or people devoted to continuing education in general, they are important in that they are among the first to provide empirical data directed to these questions.

An appropriate strategy for studying this problem is to attack it from several points. If it is true that there is such a person as the "self-learner" (and attempts to extend Mr. Houle's interview methods, used in collecting The Inquiring Mind material, to a larger sample could help determine the frequencies and distributions of such types), it is important (1) to know the different varieties of self-learner which exist, (2) to know how they came to be, (3) to know the other important characteristics they consistently possess, and (4) to know of the kinds of behaviors and roles taken by them in relation to family, friends, associates, and the larger society.

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*Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961, 87 pp.

Each of these papers fits into one or more of these strategic areas. Sheffield, following Houle's notions about three basic types of self-learners, and trying to locate them in a general adult population, gave extensive questionnaires relating to educational motivations to people attending various adult education conferences and found basic substantiation of Houle's types (Learning, Goal, and Activity), although two of them were found to require greater specification, the "goal" orientation dividing into "personal goal" and "societal goal"; the "activity" orientation into "desire for sociability" and "need fulfillment." In the same paper, Sheffield reports that two of these orientations, "learning" and "personal goal" have substantial positive correlations with the extent of participation in continuing education activities; thus to a certain degree, participation in such activities could be considered an index of the possession of some of these orientations (assuming these results will generalize if applied to other samples and situations).

The Ingham paper has some areas of similarity to that by Sheffield, although the approach and theoretical backgrounds of the two are somewhat different. Ingham investigated the reported "leisure satisfactions" of his respondents, and found four leisure satisfaction pattern "types," three of which appeared to be compatible with the three Houle "orientations." He found no differences between frequent and infrequent educational activity participants when total leisure satisfaction patterns were compared, but when only those variables logically related to educational activities were compared for the two groups, the differences were statistically significant, more frequent participants having preferences for activities which provide mental stimulation, an outlet for creativity, leisure which complements their work activity, and autonomy. While Ingham presents no data which relates these satisfaction patterns to antecedent variables, he discusses theoretical positions pertaining to the ways in which motives can be acquired. At this point, all prior research and theory explaining the acquisition and learning of drives, motives, and rewards, and all which relates to the development of personality characteristics (as influenced by child-rearing and other experiences, etc.) become highly relevant. However, since these prior studies have not studied the processes by which orientations and satisfaction patterns develop relating specifically to participation in continuing education, the connection in explicit research terms has yet to be made.

The Brown paper attempts to assess the influence of college experience on participation in continuing education. He found that alumni of highly-rated colleges participated in a variety of continuing education activities to a greater degree than did alumni of "average" colleges. Interestingly, the different curricula studied, by alumni from a single school, showed no such differential effect. This makes it appear, if further research confirms these results, that there is something about the atmosphere of a school which either promotes or does not promote an attitude about education, permeating all curriculum areas. Unfortunately, Brown was unable to compare the students from the two sets of colleges at the outset of their college careers; thus the possibility remains that the differences found in the results relate to differences between the students initially. Still, the results are interesting and provocative, and it is hoped that one of the earlier future research efforts will provide a definitive answer to this question.

Thus we present here a set of highly intriguing probes into an area which has great interest to us and importance to the field of adult education. While the studies raise many questions, and provide few if any decisive conclusions, we believe that the set of data and speculation which they contain will be of great use to those who wish to know what is being done and thought about these problems, as well as to those who are doing or planning further research in the same area.

We would like to express our appreciation to the authors of the three dissertations who have generously allowed us to use their work and have borne patiently with the problems of editing their studies down to a fraction of their original length. Professor Cyril O. Houle of the University of Chicago, who guided the three investigations to completion, has written a postscript pointing out many more interesting research possibilities.

Daniel Solomon
Research Consultant
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March, 1964

THE ORIENTATIONS OF ADULT CONTINUING LEARNERS[*]

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Many adults continuously involve themselves in a wide range of educative activities which begin before normal termination of formal education and continue throughout life. These adults may from time to time use established institutional offerings to satisfy their continuing learning requirements. They may attend conferences in university continuing education centers. They may join great books discussion groups. They may be prolific users of library facilities, attend classes and museums, and participate in fine arts activities. Are these activities simply isolated interests and facets of a given personality? Or is there some underlying orientation that brings continuity and completeness to these diverse learning experiences as they are pursued by any single individual? Indeed, what does characterize the continuing learner?

Does the continuing learner have various orientations toward learning? If he does, what are they? Do orientations of adult continuing learn-forces which affect him in his environment.

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[*] For a more inclusive version of this paper, see the writer's dissertation by the same title, University of Chicago, 1962. Each dissertation written for the Department of Education is available for loan to University of Chicago faculty and students from the Library, Department of Education.

Microfilm copies of each dissertation are for sale ($1.65 to $4.00, depending on length) from University of Chicago Library, Department of Photoduplication, Swift Hall, Chicago, Illinois, 60637.

The second hypothesis builds upon the first in suggesting that:

2. Three orientations of continuing learners are goal-orientation, activity-orientation, and learning-orientation.

It should be noted that, although these orientations are specifically tested, it is not argued that they are the only ones. In fact the design of the instrument and the analysis techniques allow other orientations to emerge as they may exist within the continuing learners themselves.

The identification of these orientations of adult continuing learners grew out of a close examination of unusually active adult learners. Is such a theory as applicable to adult learners who are less involved in the continuing learning process? This study includes a broad sample of continuing learners, thereby allowing an examination of the relationship that may exist between the extent of participation in adult education and the three or more orientations. Therefore, the third hypothesis states that:

3. There is a direct relationship between the extent to which those who attend continuing education conferences participate in adult education and the extent to which they are characterized by one of the three or more orientations.

The theoretical basis of the research assumes no direct relationship between the orientation of the continuing learner and the means he uses to fulfill his continuing learning desires. The proposition which was tested in this study suggests, in fact, that the individual continuing learner may use many diverse individual, group, and institutional forms of adult education.

Data were obtained from participants in four types of university conferences—"liberal," "occupational," "functional," and "recreational." This typology of conferences is a result of a detailed analysis of all conferences held in the continuing education centers at Michigan State University and the University of Illinois for the academic year 1959-1960. Liberal education conferences are those which concentrate on developing mastery of the liberal arts and provide some comprehension of the whole range of basic knowledge. Occupational education conferences are those which provide training in a professional or vocational area (and are usually designed to provide in-service occupational training). Functional education conferences have to do with practical but non-vocational responsibilities of adults which might assist the participant to become a better parent, to take a more active role in politics, to assume leadership in the various associations of which he is a member, to examine his ethical and religious beliefs, to attack problems of his society and build a stronger community, or to assume other responsibilities related to his personal and social life. Recreational education conferences are those which assist in fulfilling the desire to extend one's knowledge and competency in some subject of absorbing personal interest; they provide refreshment and enrichment for transcending the compartmentalized routines of daily life; they include hobbies, and encompass areas generally accepted as being recreative.

In the four general types of conferences, is there substantial representation of each of the three orientations? Is there a significant relationship between the type of conference and the orientation characterizing the learner? These and similar questions resulted in the formulation of the fourth hypothesis:

4. There is no relationship between the type of continuing education conference which the individual attends and his primary orientation towards continuing learning.

Procedures

A test of the hypotheses required that a method be found for determining the orientations of adult continuing learners and the kind and extent of learning activities in which they participate.

After a comparative study of various methodological approaches, it was finally decided that a three part instrument would be given to continuing learners and as developed would include (1) the orientation index, (2) the continuing learning activities survey, and (3) demographic data.

The Orientation Index[3]

The orientation test items were derived from analyses of four sources. First, transcripts[4] had been made of Houle's extensive interviews with each of 22 selected adult learners. These transcrips were closely examined to determine clues to why these adults were fully immersed in continuing learning activities. Second, a close analysis was made of The Inquiring Mind manuscript.

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[3] See Appendix A for instruments used.

[4] Mr. Cyril O. Houle's interviews on this "Self Educating Project" were made between the Spring, 1959, and Spring, 1960. These interviews were the basis of certain concepts he developed in The Inquiring Mind, cited earlier.

To secure further data on why adults continue their learning a simple form was devised and, with a brief cover letter, was sent to 35 adult educators throughout the country. The form was, also, given to 13 experienced graduate students in adult education at the University of Chicago. Each adult educator was asked, on the basis of his experience and contact with adult learners, to list 10 reasons why he thought adults participate in learning activities.

Finally, literature in the field of adult education was examined to find any additional reasons as to why adults participate in learning activities.

From these four sources some 120 items were proposed. After initial refinements and eliminations of unessential duplications 99 statements of reasons for adult participation in learning activities remained. Independent judgments of adult educators were sought to aid in instrument validation. As a result of this validation procedure, each item was judged as clearly or not clearly applicable to a preliminary test of the particular orientation.

The Learning Activities Survey

The continuing learning activities survey instrument was developed to determine the extent of continuing learning. In constructing the instrument it was decided to include a broad spectrum of activities. The underlying assumptions for determining the appropriate activities to be included were: (1) Both formal and informal activities (in the traditional sense) would be measured. For example, evening school and correspondence credit classes are representative of the more formal activities while visits to museums, listening to the radio, attendance at conferences, and independent reading are indicative of the informal activities. (2) The continuing learning activity items are conceived as including the possibility for learning in a broadly defined sense. The items include individual as well as group activities. Listening to recorded music, attending concerts, and reading popular and professional magazines are indicative of the breadth of learning as used here. (3) There is no value judgment made as to the quality of a given educational activity. (The quality of any given learning activity lies beyond the scope of this study.) (4) It is desirable to include the element of continuity in participation in educational activities. This would be provided by including the individual participation in a given activity, prior to this year, as well as within the past twelve months. (5) An index of extent of continuing learning activities includes the amount or degree of participation within a given time period. Therefore, the instrument had to provide a means for quantifying participation in a given unit of time or amount, such as, number of hours, number of courses, and number of books.

Criteria and Source of Data

The specific criteria for the selection of the continuing education conferences and conferees represented in the sample included: (1) the availability of data, (2) an adequate representation of participants in the liberal, occupational, functional, and recreational conferences, (3) a reasonable degree of geographical representation of the conferees, (4) the minimizing of individual institutional bias, (5) the existence of strong and effective adult continuing education programs, (6) the availability of representative conferences of more than one-day duration, and (7) the fact that the institutions concerned are members of the National University Extension Association.

On the basis of the foregoing assumptions and selection factors the total sample included 453 adult conference participants in 20 conferences held at eight universities in the United States. Two institutions from the West and one from the Southeast were represented in the sample. The majority of the universities were located in the Midwest. Even though the Midwest institutions were most heavily represented there was great diversity in geographical representation of continuing learners. The adult conferees came from many sections of the United States; and a few came from out of the country.

Six of the 20 conferences were conducted at Michigan State University, with 216 participants; four conferences were sponsored by the University of North Carolina with 109 participants; two conferences were at the University of Colorado with 20 participants; two conferences were at the University of Illinois with 43 participants; two conferences were sponsored by the University of Minnesota with 11 participants; and two conferences were at the University of Wisconsin with 23 participants. In addition, 14 adults were sampled from a conference at the University of Nebraska, and 17 from a conference at the University of Washington.

Of a total of 453 adults sampled, 165 were at occupational conferences, 97 at recreational conferences, 96 at liberal conferences, and 95 at functional conferences.

Treatment of the Orientation Data

Factor analysis was used to identify the groupings of orientations among the 453 respondents. The object of factor analysis, according to Thurstone, is to discover whether the variables can be made to exhibit an underlying order that may throw light on the processes that produce differences in the variables.[5] In other words, factor analysis is a technique which attempts to reduce a large number of variables to a relatively small number of "factors." Seven factors were extracted from the data in this study.

The next step was to rotate the resulting factor analysis by Kaiser's varimax criterion to obtain the simple structure of the data. Following this rotation process, the "factors," or related variables which clustered together, could be examined and interpreted. In this study the clustered variables are the items that are associated with each other in terms of the resulting factor loadings.

From this analysis, it was possible to determine and describe several continuing learning orientation profiles of adult continuing learners. As discussed later the results supported generally the original logical orientation construct. The labels given and the descriptions given seem to be appropriate as they represent an attempt to encompass the variables in each of the clusters.

Adult Learning Orientations

Of the seven factors extracted from the data by factor analysis only five meaningful orientations developed. An examination of Table 1 shows these sets of item clusters. The two items in factor VI and the one item comprising factor VII cannot be interpreted as meaningful to the orientation. Furthermore, the first five factors accounted for 53 per cent of the variance among all items while the sixth and seventh factors accounted

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5. L. L. Thurstone, Multiple Factor Analysis (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1947).

TABLE 1

ORIENTATION FACTORS 1 - 10

Factor Number	Item Numbers[a]	Percentage of Variance in the Data Accounted for
I	4,5,7,11,14,16,20,24,26, 28,30,35,37,43,44,46,52, 54,58	26
II	2,10,12,17,22,25,27,32,51, 53,56	11
III	1,15,18,23,29,34,38,55,57	8
IV	6,21,31,39,41,47	5
V	13,19,36,42,49	3
VI	48,50[b]	3
VII	33[b]	2.5

[a] Items number 3, 8, 9, 40, and 45 of the measuring instrument did not prove to be sufficiently related to the seven factors and are, therefore, not shown in this table.

[b] The items comprising clusters VI and VII do not constitute orientations as they cannot be interpreted as being either meaningful as separate orientations or meaningful to the logical orientation construct being studied.

for only an additional 5.5 per cent. Though factor VI accounts for as much variance in the data as factor V it does not constitute an orientation for the reasons stated above. No other factors were taken out of the data, as any additional variance they would account for would be so small as to be meaningless for interpretive purposes. The results, then, as discussed below apply only to the five significant orientations.

As suggested earlier, an assumption about factor analysis is that the relationship among variables can be accounted for by the nature and extent of their common factor loadings.[6] The specific factor loadings that resulted from this study are shown item by item and factor by factor in Table 2.[7] Items with factor loadings of at least .41 were considered as contributing significantly to the meaning of the factor.

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[6] Benjamin Fruchter, Introduction to Factor Analysis (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1954.)

[7] The absolute factor loadings represent comparable weight for the particular factor; their signs, however, indicate which direction on the axis from the point of origin the variable was located for that factor.

The five learning orientations that resulted from the analysis and factor loadings in this study were (1) the learning orientation, (2) the sociability orientation, (3) the personal-goal orientation, (4) the societal-goal orientation, and (5) the need-fulfillment orientation. The specific nature and definitions of these empirically determined orientations are discussed below.

Learning Orientation

Factor 1, as shown in Table 2 emerged as a consistent and coherent cluster of 19 learning-oriented items. The items listed below comprise the learning orientation (the number in parenthesis before each item identifies it in Table 2 while the number immediately preceding each item is the factor loading for that item):

(16) - .82	To fill an innate yearning for knowledge.
(28) - .81	To satisfy intellectual curiosity.
(30) - .77	To satisfy an inquiring mind.
(54) - .76	To enjoy seeking knowledge.
(4) - .71	To satisfy an innate need for information and knowledge.
(58) - .70	To enjoy acquiring more knowledge.
(7) - .69	To pursue a path of intellectual curiosity.
(20) - .69	To further expose an insatiably curious mind.
(37) - .69	To find intellectual enrichment and mental stimulation.
(43) - .68	To satisfy a deep curiosity about life and ideas.
(46) - .68	To desire to learn and to know.
(11) - .66	To enjoy the satisfaction that comes from learning.
(26) - .61	To desire enlightenment.
(35) - .61	To study for its own sake.
(14) - .59	To introduce me to new ideas which I can further explore on my own.
(44) - .50	To develop understanding.
(52) - .50	To feel a need for more education.
(5) - .48	To participate in activities that are completely new to me.
(24) - .48	To get the satisfaction of accomplishment.

Each of these items except the last four with the lowest factor loadings were originally judged by adult educators as being of the learning orientation type. Item five was originally considered to be of the activity-

TABLE 2

FACTOR LOADINGS ON SEVEN FACTORS, AND COMMUNALITY
(Loadings which lead to clustering are bracketed)

Orientation Item Variables	Factors							Communality[a]
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	h^2
1. To retrain for vocational changes	-.02	.00	(-.67)	-.06	-.04	.01	.10	.47
2. To be with friends and associates	-.09	(.78)	.04	-.01	.006	.02	.01	.62
3. To enjoy individually oriented activities	-.32	.27	.02	-.07	-.07	.14	.25	.28
4. To satisfy an innate need for information and knowledge	(-.71)	.10	-.08	-.03	-.03	.01	.22	.58
5. To participate in activities that are completely new to me	(-.48)	.22	-.14	-.18	-.005	-.12	-.05	.36
6. To seek helpful insights about human relations	-.33	-.06	-.14	(-.47)	.07	-.09	.41	.54
7. To pursue a path of intellectual curiosity	(-.69)	-.08	.01	-.02	.11	-.04	.34	.63
8. To exchange ideas and information	-.30	.28	-.19	-.29	-.17	-.22	.34	.49

[a] Communality is that portion of the variance of each variable or item which is correlated with the other variables. It is obtained by summing the squared factor loadings in each row.

TABLE 2 (Continued)

Orientation Item Variables	Factors							Communality
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	h^2
9. To develop creative expression (art, music, dance, speaking, etc.)	-.35	.31	-.17	.07	-.22	.26	.32	.49
10. To associate with others of similar interests	-.21	(.61)	-.12	.01	-.24	-.01	.22	.56
11. To enjoy the satisfaction that comes from learning	(-.66)	.21	-.07	-.04	-.13	.15	.02	.54
12. To fulfill a need for personal association and friendships	-.05	(.81)	-.01	-.05	-.07	.05	.12	.69
13. To compensate for unfavorable acceptance by associates	.01	.23	-.35	-.00	(.41)	.16	-.00	.38
14. To introduce me to new ideas which I can further explore on my own	(-.59)	.15	-.19	-.09	-.15	-.06	-.11	.46
15. To fill an economic motivation	.00	.11	(-.75)	-.04	.15	.04	-.02	.62
16. To fill an innate yearning for knowledge	(-.82)	.07	-.08	-.05	.05	-.00	.05	.70
17. To undertake group participation as a socially acceptable change from isolated individual study	-.17	(.51)	-.16	-.12	.21	.06	.16	.42

TABLE 2 (Continued)

Orientation Item Variables	Factors							Communality
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	h^2
18. To gain recognition among peers	-.00	.16	(-.45)	.07	.42	.14	.33	.55
19. To seek relief from boredom	-.04	.26	-.09	.08	(.74)	-.09	.05	.66
20. To further expose an insatiably curious mind	(-.69)	.03	-.00	.05	.29	-.12	.13	.61
21. To understand community problems	-.21	.17	-.05	(-.72)	.07	-.06	.02	.61
22. To make new friends	-.14	(.72)	-.10	-.19	.19	-.05	-.04	.63
23. To secure professional advancement	-.00	-.01	(-.86)	-.07	.07	.02	.00	.76
24. To get the satisfaction of accomplishment	(-.48)	.22	-.35	-.03	.04	.12	-.08	.43
25. To experience the pleasure of meeting new people	-.18	(.73)	-.01	-.22	.16	-.11	.05	.67
26. To desire enlightenment	(-.61)	.19	-.08	-.15	.11	-.04	-.03	.46
27. To satisfy a desire to be active	-.28	(.52)	-.02	-.07	.25	-.00	-.07	.44
28. To satisfy intellectual curiosity	(-.81)	.05	-.09	-.04	.10	-.04	.11	.69

TABLE 2 (Continued)

Orientation Item Variables	Factors							Communality
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	h^2
29. To clarify what I wish to be doing 5 or 10 years from now	-.21	.14	(-.51)	-.10	.21	.09	-.00	.40
30. To satisfy an inquiring mind	(-.77)	-.01	.00	-.13	.19	-.06	.11	.68
31. To become a more effective citizen	-.23	.24	-.05	(-.73)	-.01	.13	-.00	.67
32. To become acquainted with congenial people	-.17	(.75)	-.00	-.22	.16	.05	.00	.68
33. To enjoy the pleasure of discourse	-.31	.37	.02	-.15	.10	.11	(.49)	.54
34. To increase competence in employment	-.05	-.11	(-.83)	-.10	.02	-.04	.05	.73
35. To study for its own sake	(-.61)	.04	-.00	.00	.04	.37	.03	.52
36. To overcome the frustration of day-to-day living	-.11	.24	-.15	.00	(.68)	.06	-.04	.57
37. To find intellectual enrichment and mental stimulation	(-.69)	.08	.09	-.21	.04	.13	.11	.58
38. To learn better ways of doing things	-.27	.22	(-.45)	-.38	-.13	-.09	-.22	.56
39. To engage in the discussion of ideas	-.34	.23	-.11	(-.42)	-.11	-.07	.20	.43

TABLE 2 (Continued)

Orientation Item Variables	Factors							Communality
	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	h^2
40. To believe that the activity provides responsibility	-.00	.36	-.41	-.14	.31	.29	-.24	.57
41. To seek to contribute to the "common good"	-.12	.28	-.06	(-.65)	.00	.16	.03	.56
42. To feel a social need to be a part of an accepted group	-.01	.48	-.21	-.12	(.50)	.26	-.09	.63
43. To satisfy a deep curiosity about life and ideas	(-.68)	.03	.03	-.21	.15	.11	.15	.58
44. To develop understanding	(-.50)	.04	-.17	-.48	.02	.05	.01	.52
45. To use learning situations for social purposes	-.08	.27	-.22	-.26	.34	.29	.19	.45
46. To desire to learn and to know	(-.68)	.12	-.10	-.24	-.08	.09	-.17	.60
47. To prepare for service in the community	-.08	.12	-.21	(-.71)	.02	.22	-.01	.62
48. To participate in education as an end in itself	-.33	.12	-.13	-.18	.08	(.53)	.08	.49
49. To feel a need to be accepted by others	-.01	.44	-.30	-.03	(.54)	.26	-.01	.66

TABLE 2 (Continued)

Orientation Item Variables	Factors							Communality
	I	I	III	IV	V	VI	VII	h^2
50. To undertake education as a means to an end	-.17	.10	-.38	-.08	.15	(.51)	-.01	.48
51. To undertake an activity with a friend	.00	(.58)	-.01	-.10	.26	.16	-.06	.45
52. To feel a need for more education	(-.50)	.13	-.32	-.25	-.01	.15	-.11	.48
53. To enjoy socially oriented learning activities	-.18	(.50)	-.13	-.20	.17	.39	.03	.54
54. To enjoy seeking knowledge	(-.76)	.16	.02	-.13	.01	.25	-.06	.70
55. To use education as a means to higher status and prestige	-.07	.15	(-.61)	-.05	.29	.32	-.02	.61
56. To enjoy the association with other people	-.13	(.74)	.00	-.18	.13	.07	-.03	.63
57. To up-grade occupational competency	-.09	-.07	(-.82)	-.14	.01	-.02	-.02	.72
58. To enjoy acquiring more knowledge	(-.70)	.11	-.04	-.13	-.01	.21	-.10	.59

orientation type. Items 24, 44 and 52 were judged to be items other than those three in the hypothesis. An inspection of these items shows that there is a general compatability in meaning among them and the learning-orientation items with higher factor loadings. Only one pre-validated learning orientation item, according to these analyses, was not consistent with the learning orientation cluster. Item 48 (see Table 2), "to participate in education as an end in itself" was that exception. Otherwise, the definition of the learning orientation as hypothesized was essentially validated by this analysis; it remains unchanged.

Sociability Orientation

The second factor formed a consistent cluster of eleven items: the sociability orientation.

(12) - .81	To fulfill a need for personal associations and friendships.
(2) - .78	To be with friends and associates.
(32) - .75	To become acquainted with congenial people.
(56) - .74	To enjoy the association with other people.
(25) - .73	To experience the pleasure of meeting new people.
(22) - .72	To make new friends.
(10) - .61	To associate with others of similar interests.
(51) - .58	To undertake an activity with a friend.
(27) - .52	To satisfy a desire to be active.
(17) - .51	To undertake group participation as a socially acceptable change from isolated individual study.
(53) - .50	To enjoy socially oriented learning activities.

Analysis of these items suggested a more precise description of the "activity-oriented" learner than was originally proposed. The learner finds an interpersonal or social meaning in the circumstances of the learning with no necessary connection with the content or announced purposes of the activity.

These findings tend to support the hypothesis that some continuing learners are activity oriented, but the analysis also gives us a sharper focus and description of the orientation.

Personal-Goal Orientation

The third factor, developed from a factor loading cluster of nine goal orientation items, revealed in its focus certain personal motivations as, for example, "to increase competence in employment" or "to gain recognition among peers." These items were:

(23) - .86 To secure professional advancement.
(34) - .83 To increase competence in employment.
(57) - .82 To up-grade occupational competency.
(15) - .75 To fill an economic motivation.
(1) - .67 To retrain for vocational changes.
(55) - .61 To use education as a means to higher status.
(29) - .51 To clarify what I wish to be doing 5 or 10 years from now.
(38) - .45 To learn better ways of doing things.
(18) - .45 To gain recognition among peers.

These nine items which resulted from the analysis pursued here were all validated prior to the study as being predictable test variables of the goal orientation type. The results of this analysis differ from the originally hypothesized goal orientation in providing a more precise description of the "goal." The items which comprise this factor indicate a strong propensity toward the first person.

The personal-goal oriented learners are those who use education as the means of accomplishing fairly clear-cut personal objectives. They seem to accept adult education as a way to solve problems or to pursue their unique personal interests. They are keenly aware of the immediate and practical, and they use education as a means to these ends.

The other dimension of goal-orientation, which developed as the fourth factor in the analysis, is discussed below as the societal-goal orientation.

Societal-Goal Orientation

Factor IV emerged as a common cluster of the following six items:

(31) - .71 To become a more effective citizen.
(21) - .72 To understand community problems.
(47) - .71 To prepare for service in the community.
(41) - .65 To seek to contribute to the "common good."
(6) - .47 To seek helpful insights about human relations.
(39) - .42 To engage in the discussion of ideas.

Analysis of the specific content of this cluster made it rather evident that the goals represented were almost the antithesis of the personal objectives. The title, societal-goal orientation, readily grew out of the nature of these items. Thus, the societal-goal oriented learners are those who use education as a means of accomplishing fairly clear-cut social or community centered objectives.

The educational ends of the societal-goal oriented seem to imply not only a community concern or "otherness" but somewhat less emphasis on the immediate and practical than the personal-goal oriented.

Need-Fulfillment Orientation

This orientation was interpreted from five orientation items with high loadings:

(19) - .74 To seek relief from boredom.
(36) - .68 To overcome the frustration of day-to-day living.
(49) - .54 To feel a need to be accepted by others.
(42) - .50 To feel a social need to be a part of an accepted group.
(13) - .41 To compensate for unfavorable acceptance by associates.

A close look at each of these items gives us some idea of their introspective nature. They convey overtones of felt needs, and the fact that the individual perceives these as constituting inadequacies for him.

The need-fulfillment oriented individuals are defined as those who take part because they find in the circumstances of the learning a personal meaning which may have no necessary connection, and often no connection at all, with the content or the announced purposes of the activity.

Summary of Orientation Findings

As indicated these analyses lead to a clear definition of five adult learner orientations: (1) learning, (2) desire for sociability, (3) personal-goal, (4) societal-goal, and (5) need-fulfillment.

This research confirms the existence of learning orientation. The findings also sharpen the "goal" and "activity" orientations by some finer distinctions than were originally proposed. The goal orientation divides into the personal-goal and societal-goal definitions. The personal-goal oriented learner is defined as a learner who uses education as the means of accomplishing fairly clear-cut personal objectives. In turn, the societal-goal oriented are defined as those who use education as a means of accomplishing fairly clear-cut society or community centered objectives.

The activity orientation as redefined consists of the desire for sociability and the need-fulfillment orientation types. Those with the desire for sociability are those learners who take part because they find in the circumstances of the learning an interpersonal or social meaning, while the need-fulfillment oriented individuals are those who take part in education for personal, personality-related reasons.

As a consequence of these findings the first and second hypotheses of this study are not only confirmed, but there is evidence in the involved adult continuing learner of the practical existence of Houle's distinctions.

Orientations and Extent of Continuing Learning

Table 3 presents the results of an analysis correlating scores on each orientation with those on the extent of continuing learning measure. The learning orientation had a substantial relationship to the extent of continuing learning as indicated by the .63 correlation which was significant at the .01 level of confidence. The personal-goal orientation had a correlation of .39 indicating a definite but small relationship to the extent of learning. The other orientations did not prove to be significantly correlated with the extent of continuing learning.

These results do not substantiate conclusively the hypothesis as stated. From the hypothesis one would expect a strong positive relationship between the intensity to which any orientation was held and the ex-

TABLE 3

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PRIMARY ORIENTATIONS AND EXTENT OF CONTINUING LEARNING SCORES

	Primary Orientations				
	Learning	Desire for Sociability	Personal-Goal	Societal-Goal	Need-Fulfillment
Extent of continuing learning scores	.627*	.068	.396*	.071	.035

*Significant at .01 level of confidence.

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tent of continuing learning undertaken. We find significant relationships with only two orientations, however.

Orientations As Related To Conference Types

The conference type analyses show that all five orientations are represented in each of the twenty continuing education conferences. Yet, one orientation tends to dominate in each conference type. Specifically, as noted in Table 4, (1) the learning oriented are most highly represented in the functional type conferences; (2) the desire for sociability oriented are most highly represented in the recreational conferences; (3) the personal-goal oriented are evenly distributed among all the conference types though there is a slight leaning toward the liberal conferences; (4) the societal-goal oriented are most represented in liberal conferences with recreational conferees coming a close second; and (5) the need-fulfillment oriented are found primarily in occupational conferences. As one primary orientation is predominant in each type of conference, and as there is a significant chi-square at the .05 level of confidence between the five primary orientations and the conference types, this phase of the study concludes in a rejection of the fourth hypothesis.

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE OF THE PRIMARY ORIENTATIONS REPRESENTED BY PARTICIPANTS IN THE CONFERENCE TYPES

Primary Orientations	Conference Types				Total
	Liberal	Occupational	Functional	Recreational	
Learning	25.0%	18.4%	32.9%	23.7%	100%
Desire for sociability	15.4%	24.6%	27.7%	32.3%	100%
Personal-goal	28.9%	26.7%	21.1%	23.3%	100%
Societal-goal	31.4%	21.4%	17.2%	30.0%	100%
Need-fulfillment	23.2%	31.7%	25.6%	19.5%	100%

This result seems to indicate that interests as reflected by the orientations influence to some degree the nature of the conferences in which an adult chooses to participate.

Conclusions

The Validity of the Orientation Hypotheses

The findings provide experimental evidence that adult learners differ in their orientations toward the learning act or process. From the tests of the first and second hypotheses, the following general conclusions can be drawn:

1. The analyses show five adult continuing learning orientations. We call these orientations the learning, desire-for sociability, personal-goal, societal-goal, and need-fulfillment.

2. These results also show that all five of the orientations are likely to be represented by adult learners in any given continuing learning situation where a sufficient number of participants are involved.

3. The five orientations were found to be essentially consistent with the learning orientation, the goal orientation, and the activity orientation as stated in the second hypothesis.

A careful study of the results of the factor analysis showed that the learning orientation remained essentially the same as originally defined. That is, the learning-oriented adult seeks knowledge for its own sake. The original goal-orientation was found to be composed of two more subtle and basic orientations, the personal-goal and the societal-goal. More specifically, the personal-goal oriented learners seek to accomplish clear-cut personal objectives that are both immediate and practical. The societal-goal oriented adult learners, on the other hand, are motivated by a concern for the community or society.

Likewise, in the test of the activity orientation finer distinctions were found to exist than were originally stated. The activity orientation was found to consist of the desire for sociability orientation and the need-fulfillment orientation. The desire for sociability oriented learners find in the circumstances of the learning an interpersonal or social meaning. The need-activity oriented learners are those who found in the learning situation an introspective or intrapersonal meaning.

The Orientations and the Extent (Including Continuity) of Continuing Learning

This study advanced and tested the validity of the hypothesis that there is a direct relationship between the extent that continuing education conference participants engage in adult education and the degree to which they are characterized by one of the orientations. The results provided evidence for partially accepting the hypothesis. A positive relationship significant at the .01 level of confidence was found between the extent to which the learning and the personal-goal orientations are held and the extent to which adults participate in continuing learning activities, but no significant relationship was found between the other orientations and the extent of continuing learning undertaken.

Primary Orientations and Conference Types

This study also related the type of continuing education conference which the individual attends and his primary orientation towards continuing learning.

It is significant that, although there was a significant relationship between the primary orientation and the conference types, all orientations were represented by adult learners in each of the 20 conferences (having 16 or more conferees). The result is important, although it may appear to be secondary to the major findings. Adult educators must recognize that adult learners come to continuing education activities with a variety of personal and educational objectives which are not necessarily consistent with the stated objective of the educational undertaking. It would seem that some provision should be made for these quite appropriate individual concerns.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF EDUCATIVE BEHAVIOR TO THE LEISURE SATISFACTION OF COLLEGE ALUMNAE

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Educative Behavior Pursued for Its Own Sake

In our society education, especially organized or formal education, is looked upon chiefly as a means to some end, such as a degree or preparation for a vocation. These and similar reasons do not, however, account for the fact that many adults engage in a variety of educative activities for no apparent purpose other than to be engaged in these activities. While formal education is probably used to attain some external reward, it constitutes only a small part of the total range of activities that might be considered educative. It is, in fact, an assumption of this study that, in general, those who persistently engage in educative behavior are doing so primarily for its own sake, although not necessarily exclusively so.

This assumption was made even though there are other well-supported explanations why people engage in this kind of behavior. Houle identified three major reasons why the subjects in his study participated frequently in educative activities. They were: (1) to attain a goal, (2) to seek solutions to a wide range of personal problems, such as loneliness, unrelated to the educational aspects of the activity, and, (3) to derive the satisfaction of learning.[1] It is only the persons in the latter category who could readily be said to be engaging in educative behavior for its own sake, since those in the other two groups see these activities primarily as a means to some ulterior end. Houle observed that this latter group "differs from the other two much more markedly than either of them does from the other."[2] For those in his third category, educative behavior "has a continuity, a flow, and a spread which establish the basic nature of their participation in continuing education."[3]

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[1] See Houle, The Inquiring Mind, pp. 16-29 for an exposition of

Yet it is curious that the other two groups of people, the goal-oriented and the activity-oriented, select educative activities as a means to some end, instead of using other possible means which are available to them. For example, the goal-oriented who seek occupational advancement might use, as many do who seek success in their occupation, participation in social activities. Similarly, many individuals who are seeking the solution to a variety of personal problems (the activity-oriented) do so through means other than participation in educative activities: seeing a counselor; becoming active in voluntary groups (civic, fraternal, etc.); and, to cite a phenomenon of increasing importance for women in our society, obtaining employment.

That the continual selection of certain means to attain some end may be dependent upon the satisfactions intrinsic in those means is attested to by Rice.

> The purpose is that aspect of the act for the sake of which it is done, that to which satisfaction has attached in the past or to which it attaches by the way of anticipation; the intention includes the projected means as well as the end. There is no necessary tendency to repeat the instrumental or auxiliary responses after success unless they have also acquired consummatory or end value, that is, have given satisfaction autonomously and are recognized to have done so, or unless their symbols have been so conjoined with the symbol of the purpose that the satisfaction 'spreads' to them too. We show great flexibility in adapting our means to our ends, and we may change our goal-objects freely provided that the pursuit of them is expected to provide, somewhere in the process, those qualities or structures of the act to which satisfaction has adhered.[4]

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some of the reasons why adults continue to engage in educative activities.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Philip Blair Rice, "The Ego and the Law of Effect," Understanding Human Motivations, ed. Chalmers L. Stacey and Manfred F. DeMartino (Cleveland: Howard Allen, Inc., 1958), p. 170.

This suggests that it is unlikely that a person would continue to choose the same, or similar, means to some end unless those means themselves provided satisfaction. Thus, persons who persistently select educative activities as the means of attaining some expressed end have probably found that participation in this form of behavior has its own intrinsic satisfactions.

This assertion is made only about those persons for whom participation in educative activities is a dominant feature of their behavior. It also applies only to those who participate in educative activities voluntarily.

Individuals may engage in educative activities to attain some goal or to fulfill some need as Houle found in his analysis of persistent learners. However, these persons might well be experiencing satisfactions from the activity itself, so that they would continue to engage in these activities even after removal of the original goal. They would then be no different from the persons in the learning-oriented group who professed that they engaged in educative activities for their own sake.

The Study of Havighurst and Feigenbaum

Our research was based on the assumption that important clues about the determinants of educative behavior might be found through an analysis of a person's satisfactions. The major problem then became one of determining how these satisfactions can be identified and measured. The solution to this was found in a study by Havighurst and Feigenbaum.[5]

In their study the "leisure values" of men and women between the ages of 40 and 70 were identified and measured. This task was accomplished through interviews in which the person was asked to talk about his favorite leisure activities, as well as a variety of other leisure activities in which he engaged. Specific questions dealt with the reasons the activity was liked, the interviewee's companions in the activity, the amount of time devoted to the activity, and the subject's attitude toward the activity. Judgments were then made about the rating the respondent would receive on each of 19 variables by two persons reading these data.

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5. Havighurst, R. J. and Feigenbaum, K., "The principal value of leisure for adults: a factor analysis," unpublished paper, University of Chicago.

The 19 variables were obtained from three sources. They were:

a) the discursive writings of contemporary sociologists on the phenomenon of leisure in modern society and its significance;

b) cogitation about leisure and its relation to work, especially in the middle and later years of life; and

c) a number of interviews with Kansas City people and the more or less obvious leads given by them as to their leisure and its meaning to them.[6]

After subjecting the data obtained in their study to a principal components analysis, the authors concluded that nine of the original 19 variables provided the minimum number essential to a study of the significance adults attach to their leisure activities. The nine leisure satisfaction variables, together with a brief description of what they measure, are:

1) Mental Relaxation vs. Mental Stimulation - a continuum for measuring whether one enjoys mental relaxation or rest, or mental stimulation.

2) Solitary vs. Gregarious - a continuum for measuring whether one enjoys being alone, or with others.

3) Leisure Complementary vs. Contrasting with Work - a continuum for measuring whether a person enjoys doing things in his leisure time that are identical to his work, or entirely different from it.

4) Simple-Routine vs. Creativity-Talent - a continuum measuring whether one enjoys doing things that are simple and routine, or that are complex and produce new and interesting results.

5) Instrumental Service vs. Expressive Pleasure - a continuum for measuring whether one enjoys doing things for others, or for oneself.

6) Low Physical Energy Input vs. High Physical Energy Input - a continuum for measuring whether one enjoys activities that require a great deal of physical exertion, or very little physical exertion.

7) Time Killer vs. Enjoyment - a continuum measuring the degree of enjoyment of leisure activities.

8) Autonomy vs. Other-Directed - a continuum measuring whether one enjoys doing things on his own, or relying on others.

9) Apathetic, Constrictive vs. Vital, Expansive - a continuum measuring whether one is dissatisfied with his total leisure time and takes a negative attitude towards it, or derives a great deal of satisfaction from his leisure time and seeks new things to do.

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[6] Robert Havighurst, "The Leisure Activities of the Middle-Aged," The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LXIII, No. 2 (1957).

The last variable was omitted from the present study. This variable relates to the feelings an individual had about all his leisure activities, while the subjects in this study were asked to relate the variables to specific activities.

If educative behavior is carried on for its own sake, in line with the foregoing considerations, differences among adults in their educative behavior might be explained on the basis of their leisure satisfactions. The set of leisure satisfaction variables described here provided the necessary means for the investigation of the relationship between educative behavior and satisfactions.

Purpose of the Study

This study was conducted to develop a technique that will provide an efficient and objective measurement of the extent to which adults engage in educative behavior, and to test one possible explanation of why some adults engage more extensively than others in educative activities.

In connection with this latter purpose, an effort was made to determine the relationships between various leisure satisfaction patterns and the degree of educative behavior.

The eight leisure satisfactions (defined earlier) were considered together as a pattern, rather than individually. This decision was made on the basis of Tolman's assertion that "behavior is an adjustment of the whole organism and not a response of isolated sensory and motor segments, going off, each in lonely isolation,"[7] and because of the increasing favor (for statistical reasons) for the use of pattern, or profile, analysis in multivariate situations.[8] This method of analysis of the patterns of satisfactions takes into account the interrelationships of these variables.

Second, the observation by Pepper that "every appetitive drive has its own specific quiescence pattern"[9] suggested that those who engaged most extensively (thus evidencing a "drive" for educative behavior) ought to have in common a particular leisure satisfaction pattern (or "quiescence pattern").

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[7] E. C. Tolman, Purposive Behavior in Animals and Men (New York: The Century Co., 1932), p. 18.

[8] Gaier, Eugene L., and Lee, Marilyn C., "Pattern Analysis: The Configural Approach to Predictive Measurement," Psychological Bulletin, LVI (1953), p. 140.

[9] Pepper, S. C., The Sources of Value (Berkeley: University of California Press), 1958.

Hypotheses. The general hypothesis tested in connection with this latter purpose was that a person continues to engage in a given behavior if that behavior enables him to experience his most highly valued satisfactions. The specific hypotheses to be tested were:

1) A person who engages extensively in educative behavior will have leisure satisfactions different from one who engages infrequently in this behavior.
2) A person who engages extensively in educative behavior will have a leisure satisfactions pattern similar to other persons so classified.
3) A person who engages infrequently in educative behavior will have a leisure satisfactions pattern dissimilar to those who engage extensively in this behavior.

The decision to compare frequent and infrequent participants was based on the reasoning that those adults who participate frequently in educative activities demonstrate that they value these activities highly. Conversely, those adults who engage infrequently in educative activities demonstrate that they do not value these activities highly. It would be expected that the greatest differences of basic satisfactions between two groups selected on the basis of their frequency of participation in educative activities would occur between these two groups.

The Data Collecting Procedures

Two instruments were used to collect the data needed to test the three specific hypotheses: the Leisure Activity Index, measuring the amount of educative behavior; and the Leisure Satisfactions Check Sheet (see Appendix B).

Leisure Satisfactions Check Sheet. The Leisure Satisfactions Check Sheet was developed for this study from a rating scale formulated by Havighurst[10] for ascertaining where a person might be placed on each of the leisure satisfaction variable continuums previously described. Test-retest reliability was checked for this instrument and found to be satisfactorily high, for each dimension.

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[10] Robert J. Havighurst, "Basic Characteristics of Favorite Leisure Activities" (unpublished paper, The University of Chicago, October, 1959).

Leisure Activity Index. The effort to develop a technique to measure educative behavior resulted in the Leisure Activity Index.[11] It contains 48 items[12] representing, in the judgment of 18 educators, educative activities. An educative activity is defined as any activity that has a high probability of providing those who engage in it with an educative experience, or a change in their skills, knowledge, or attitudes. The total of a person's participation in such activities is a measure of his educative behavior.

The index is designed to measure in relative terms, the extent to which an adult has engaged in educative behavior during the preceding year. Responses to each item are in terms of "not at all," "occasionally," or "frequently" with the numerical scores of 0, 1, and 2 assigned, respectively. The numerical score, obtained by adding the individual item scores, provides an index of the extent to which that person has engaged in educative behavior.

A product-moment correlation of .85 was obtained on a test-retest of 30 subjects with a period of one month separating the administration of the index, indicating that it is satisfactorily reliable.

Validity of the index was assessed by having independent judges rate the items as to their educational potential (which showed high agreement), and by comparing the scores of a group of known high education participants with those of a group of randomly selected college alumni. The former had significantly higher scores, indicating that the instrument measures what it was designed to measure.

Identification of the Population

The sample consisted of college graduates. These were selected for three reasons. First, available evidence indicates that both the amount of previous formal education and socio-economic level are related to more frequent participation in educative activities. In order to minimize the influence of these two variables on the factors being studied, an effort was made to obtain subjects who would be relatively homogeneous with respect to them. Second, it was anticipated that a higher percentage of questionnaires would be returned by this particular group. Third, and most important, there would be a greater probability of locating among a group of college graduates, persons for whom continued participation in educative activities constituted a dominant feature of their behavior.

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[11] A detailed description of the procedures used in the development of the index is contained in R. J. Ingham, "The measurement of educative behavior and its relationship to the leisure satisfactions of college alumni" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of Chicago, 1963).

[12] The instrument actually contains 125 items, 48 of which were judged to be educative. The remaining items were left in the index to serve as detractors. Since the index can be completed in 25 minutes it has not met with resistance from respondents.

The population from which the sample was selected consisted of persons who had obtained either their bachelor's or advanced degrees from a large, private, eastern university and who at the time of the study lived within the county in which the university was located.

From a total population of approximately 4000, 682 were selected by a systematic sampling procedure. Of this latter number, 299 returned their questionnaires. Only six of these were not usable, leaving a final total, subjected to analysis, of 293. A comparison of the age and sex distributions among the respondents and non-respondents yielded no significant differences.

Analysis and Interpretation of the Data

Classification of the Data

"Frequent" participants are those persons with Leisure Activity Index scores one standard deviation or more above the mean. "Infrequent" participants are those with index scores one standard deviation or more below the mean. Because the index scores were normally distributed this division was possible.

In a normal distribution approximately 16% of the subjects may be found one standard deviation above the mean and the same percentage one standard deviation below the mean. For the 293 persons in the sample this means that 48 persons were in each group.

Testing Hypothesis 1

Hypothesis 1 states that persons who engage extensively in educative behavior will have different leisure satisfactions than those who engage infrequently in this behavior. This hypothesis was tested by comparing the mean leisure satisfaction score obtained for each variable by frequent participants and infrequent participants. The t ratio test was used to determine the level of statistical significance of the differences between the means. The results, summarized in Table 1, show that the frequent participants valued the leisure satisfactions of Creativity-Talent and Autonomy significantly more than did the infrequent participants. The frequent participants also valued the leisure satisfactions of Mental Stimulation and Leisure Complementary to Work to a larger extent (but not enough to be statistically significant) than did the infrequent participants.

TABLE 1

TESTS OF SIGNIFICANCE OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEAN LEISURE SATISFACTION SCORES OF FREQUENT AND INFREQUENT PARTICIPANTS

Leisure Satisfaction	Mean Scores of Frequent Participants	Mean Scores of Infrequent Participants	Probability Values
I Mental relaxation vs. mental stimulation	2.59	2.26	> .05 (NS)
II Solitary vs. gregarious	2.81	2.66	>.05 (NS)
III Leisure comple mentary with work vs. leisure contrasting with work	4.14	4.42	>.05 (NS)
IV Routine-simple vs. (creative-talent)[a]	3.97	3.35	<.02
V Instrumental service vs. expressive pleasure	3.91	3.86	>.05 (NS)
VI Low physical energy input vs. high physical energy input	3.21	3.00	>.05 (NS)
VII Timekiller vs. pleasure	4.56	4.39	>.05 (NS)
VIII (Autonomy) vs. other-directed[a]	1.98	2.49	< .01

[a] The frequent participants valued the leisure satisfaction in parentheses more than the infrequent participants did.

Interpretation of the Findings

The foregoing results warrant the conclusion that persons who engage frequently in educative behavior have some leisure satisfactions which are different from those of persons who engage infrequently in this behavior. Although these two groups did not differ significantly with respect to all of the leisure satisfactions on which they were compared, they did differ significantly on two of those that are logically connected to educative activities—that is, Creativity-Talent and Autonomy.

Mental Stimulation, the third leisure satisfaction which would appear to be a logical property of educative activities, did not significantly differentiate the two groups.

A fourth leisure satisfaction, that of Leisure Complementary to Work, for which there was also a large, but not statistically significant difference, might also be considered a logical property of educative activities. Persons who engage persistently in educative behavior may be thought of as having a life style in which this kind of behavior permeates various major social roles. If this is true, these persons would engage in leisure activities that would enable them to gain similar satisfactions to those which they would gain from their work.

The remaining leisure satisfactions, Solitary-Gregarious, Instrumental Service vs. Expressive Pleasure, Low Physical Energy Input vs. High Physical Energy Input, and Timekiller vs. Pleasure, are not deemed connected to educative activities. Thus, there is no reason to expect that these leisure satisfactions would differentiate persons who participated frequently in educative behavior from those who participated infrequently.

Testing Hypothesis 2

Hypothesis 2 states that a person who engages extensively in educative behavior will have a leisure satisfaction pattern similar to other persons so classified. It was decided to test this hypothesis by selecting only those persons with very high Leisure Activity index scores, who appeared also to be most homogeneous with respect to their leisure satisfactions. The greater degree of homogeneity among this smaller group would increase the chances that the hypothesis would be supported by the evidence. If, however, the evidence did not support the hypothesis for this select group, it is unlikely that an analysis of the larger group would support the hypothesis, either.

This select group was identified by first observing the frequency distribution of index scores among the 48 highest scores. A noticeable change in the frequency of a given score occurs at the index score of 50. An analysis of the leisure satisfactions of the 19 persons with scores of 50 or higher showed greater homogeneity than existed among the leisure satisfactions of the total group of 48. These highest-scoring 19 persons were used to test Hypothesis 2.

The method used to determine similarity employs the typal theory developed by McQuitty.[13] McQuitty defines a typal structure as "one in which every member of a type is more like some other member of that type (with respect to the data analyzed) than he is like any member of any other type."[14] To test Hypothesis 2, the 19 frequent participants were judged to have similar leisure satisfaction patterns if they all belonged to one type.

In the method of analysis developed by McQuitty to identify types, an index of association between persons is required. An index of association for patterns was used for the pattern analysis.

The particular technique used to determine the index of association between each of the 19 individual leisure value patterns was the d^2 score method developed by Cronbach and Gleser.[15]

The matrix of intercorrelations was then analyzed by the method developed by McQuitty. This analysis resulted in the identification of four different types of leisure satisfaction patterns rather than a single one, as had been hypothesized.

The average score for each leisure satisfaction held by the four types of frequent participants is shown in Table 2. The four types can be most clearly differentiated by considering those satisfactions which distinguish one from another. Type I is characterized by Instrumental Service, Mental Stimulation, and Leisure Contrasting with Work; type II by High Physical Energy Input and a tendency toward Other-Directedness; type III by Gregariousness, Leisure Complementary to Work, Rou-

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[13] Louis L. McQuitty, "Elementary Linkage Analysis for Isolating Orthogonal and Oblique Types and Typal Relevancies," Educational and Psychological Measurement, XVII (1957), 207-29.

[14] Ibid., 209.

[15] Cronbach, Lee J., and Gleser, Goldine C., "Assessing Similarity Between Profiles," Psychological Bulletin, L (1953), 456-73.

TABLE 2

AVERAGE LEISURE SATISFACTION SCORES FOR FOUR TYPES OF LEISURE SATISFACTION PATTERNS

Leisure Satisfactions	Type I	Type II	Type III	Type IV
I Mental relaxation Mental stimulation	3.8	3.1	2.2	2.0
II Solitary Gregarious	2.9	3.4	3.7	3.0
III Leisure complementary with work Leisure contrasting with work	4.8	4.2	3.5	4.2
IV Routine-simple (Creative-talent)	4.4	4.5	3.3	4.5
V Instrumental service Expressive pleasure	2.8	3.8	3.8	4.8
VI Low physical energy input High physical energy input	3.7	4.7	2.8	3.9
VII Timekiller Pleasure	4.8	5.0	2.7	4.8
VIII Autonomy Other-directed	1.8	2.5	2.0	1.6

tine-Simple, Low Physical Energy Input, and Timekiller; and type IV by Expressive Pleasure and Mental Relaxation.

Since it was decided that the criterion for similarity in Hypothesis 2 would be met only if one type of leisure satisfaction pattern was held by the frequent participants, the evidence of four different types of leisure satisfaction patterns held by this group does not support the hypothesis.

Interpretation of the Findings

In view of the numerous commonalities among the leisure satisfactions of the four types, as shown in the foregoing verbal descriptions, this conclusion must be qualified. The fact that there are a number of leisure satisfactions held in common by the four types suggests that slightly different data might yield significantly different results. For instance, the criteria by which the educative activities were selected were somewhat arbitrarily chosen. Other criteria might have resulted in an index which would have identified other persons as being frequently engaged in educative behavior. These persons could conceivably have different leisure satisfactions.

The emergence of four types from the analysis of leisure satisfactions patterns of the 19 persons engaged frequently in educative behavior indicates that persistent educative behavior is not associated with any one leisure satisfactions pattern but with a number of patterns. The existence of a number of patterns may be interpreted to mean that different persons are able to obtain different kinds of satisfactions from one broad classification of behavior.

Not only do individual leisure satisfactions vary between persons who engage in the wide variety of activities included in the classification of educative behavior, but an inspection of the leisure satisfactions which persons in Type I and Type IV derive from a common favorite leisure activity (reading) demonstrates that different leisure satisfactions are also associated with a fairly specific type of behavior. All three persons of Type I who indicated that reading was one of their favorite leisure activities valued this activity because it gave them a chance to experience mental stimulation. Four of the five persons of Type IV who indicated that reading was one of their favorite leisure activities valued it because it gave them a chance for mental relaxation.

It is interesting to note the connection between the four types identified in this study and the three types identified by Houle. In his study of the characteristics of persons who engaged persistently in educative activities, Houle[16] identified three major types of frequent participants in educative behavior: "the goal-oriented," the "activity-oriented," and the "learning-oriented." These terms were compared to the four types identified in the present study to determine whether there was any correspondence. Type I (Instrumental Service-Mental Stimulation, Leisure Contrast to Work) corresponds with the goal-oriented category. Type III (Time-Killer, Leisure Complementary to Work, Routine-Simple, Low Physical Energy Input, Gregarious) corresponds to the activity-oriented category. A less confident comparison may be made between the learning-oriented category and Type IV. Persons in Type IV value highly the leisure satisfactions of Expressive Pleasure and Mental Relaxation. These two leisure satisfactions coincide with the observation by Houle's learning-oriented subjects that "education is merely their way of having fun."[17] Type II, which contains persons distinctive for their high physical energy output, has no apparent counterpart among Houle's subjects. This type would probably have a high rating on any activity index such as the one used in this study. Because of their socio-economic status (lawyer, business executive, and teacher) educative activities are probably consistent with their total life style.

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[16] Houle, op. cit., 15-16.

If the index is accurate, doubt is cast upon the postulate advanced by Pepper that every appetitive drive has its own specific quiescence pattern. It was on the basis of this postulate that Hypothesis 2 was predicated. As the findings demonstrated, four different "quiescence" patterns were identified for the same appetitive drive, i.e., the drive to participate in educative behavior. It may be that participation in educative behavior actually satisfies more than one drive, in which case Pepper's postulate would still be tenable. This point will be examined more thoroughly later because it raises some significant theoretical implications.

Testing Hypothesis 3

Hypothesis 3 states that persons frequently engaged in educative behavior will have different leisure satisfactions patterns than persons infrequently engaged in this behavior.

This hypothesis was also tested by means of an analysis of the patterns, or profiles, of all eight leisure satisfactions considered as a set rather than individually. The persons selected for testing Hypothesis 2 were compared with those persons with the lowest 19 index scores.

Essentially the same formula used in statistical analysis to compare the difference of the means of two groups was used to test the difference between the profiles of the two groups. Table 3 contains the mean values of leisure satisfactions of the groups being compared, together with those of all other subjects in the sample.

Analysis of the patterns for the two groups showed no significant

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[17] Ibid., p. 38.

TABLE 3

MEAN SCORES OF LEISURE SATISFACTIONS HELD BY FREQUENT, INFREQUENT, AND ALL OTHER SUBJECTS IN THE SAMPLE

Leisure Satisfactions	Mean Scores Frequent Group	Mean Scores Infrequent Group	All Others in Sample
I Mental relaxation vs. mental stimulation (1-5)[a]	2.85	2.28	2.48
II Solitary vs. gregarious (1-5)	3.18	2.84	2.90
III Leisure complementary vs. contrasting work (1-5)	4.18	4.67	4.16
IV Routine-simple vs. creativity-talent (1-5)	4.23	3.33	3.41
V Instrumental service vs. expressive pleasure (1-5)	3.81	3.92	4.00
VI Low physical energy input vs. high physical energy input (1-5)	3.83	2.68	3.00
VII Time-killer vs. enjoyment (1-5)	4.50	4.45	4.51
VIII Autonomy vs. other-directed (1-5)	1.88	2.42	2.17

[a] The numbers (1-5) after each leisure satisfaction refer to the numerical value of each end of the continuum. Thus, a mean score of 2.85 indicates that the group in question values Mental Stimulation more than Mental Relaxation.

difference between them. The evidence does not support Hypothesis 3.

On the basis of the foregoing evidence it is concluded that the total leisure satisfactions patterns of the group of frequent participants does not vary significantly (statistically) from that of the infrequent participants, and, therefore, the extent to which one engages in educative behavior is not associated with basic leisure satisfactions patterns.

However, Hypothesis 3 was supported by the evidence when the leisure satisfactions patterns contained only those variables logically related to educative activities. A t ratio value of 2.6 was obtained when only the four variables of Mental-Stimulation, Creativity-Talent, Leisure Complementary, and Autonomy were included in the analysis of patterns. This value is significant at the .05 level. The inclusion of logically irrelevant variables in the pattern blurred the distinctions that existed between the frequent and infrequent participants with respect to those leisure satisfactions which were logically relevant.

Implications of the Study

The results obtained in testing Hypothesis 2 raise the question of whether or not all persons who are engaged in educative behavior are actually having educative experiences. (An "educative experience" is defined as any experience which results in an actual change in the skills, knowledge, or attitudes of the individual.[18]) "Educative behavior," the independent variable of the present study, was defined as participation in an activity in which there was a high probability that an educative experience would occur. It may be that some persons who engage persistently in educative behavior do not actually have educative experiences, at least not of the same quality, or to the same degree that others do. Perhaps the two terms "scholar" and "dilettante" accurately represent the distinctions among those who are found to be persistently engaged in educative behavior but who have different leisure satisfactions patterns. By way of speculation, the persons in Type I (those who value mental stimulation) may be the scholars, and the persons in Types III and IV (those who value mental relaxation) may be the dilettantes.

The evidence obtained in this study does not warrant any definite conclusions. However, common usage of terms that provide verbal distinctions between persons on the basis of the quality of their educative experiences enhances the credibility of the foregoing observations.

All of the foregoing interpretations are based on a small number of observations, particularly those concerning Types II and III. The major point that has been made, and one which is corroborated by the evidence obtained by Havighurst[19] and Houle,[20] is that a given form of behavior can yield a variety of leisure satisfactions.

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[18] John Dewey's observations that "the belief that all genuine education comes about through experience does not mean that all experiences are genuinely or equally educative" supports the notion that even for those persons who persistently engage in educative activities, there may well be persons who do not have experiences that are "genuinely or equally" educative. See John Dewey, Experience and Education (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1955), 13.

The findings of this study provided additional support to the notion that persistent educative behavior is carried on for its own sake. The fact that certain leisure satisfactions were associated with persistent educative behavior suggests that those engaged in this form of behavior did so because it enabled them to experience basic satisfactions.

Pepper suggests that an intelligent organism, once experiencing these basic satisfactions, will purposively seek to again experience them. If so, on-going human behavior might be a constant search for acts which will enable one to experience those satisfactions.

This idea is related to the idea of hedonism—a doctrine which states that seeking pleasure is the primary source of motivation. But the findings of this study imply that this principle explains only in part why a person would persistently engage in a given behavior. The hedonist's argument appears to be even less suitable as an explanation for that behavior which is engaged in only intermittently.

Another implication of this study is that behavior theorists have devoted too much attention to the analysis of overt behavior in the search for explanations of behavior. This seems to be the case in view of the findings of this study that different leisure satisfactions can be experienced by different persons engaged in the same activity, and the same leisure satisfactions may be experienced by different persons within different forms of behavior. The form of behavior engaged in appears to have only a slight relevance to the significance which the individual might associate with that behavior.

A Final Observation

The evidence obtained in this study provides partial support for the thesis that educative behavior will be persistently pursued if it enables the individual to experience basic satisfaction.

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[19] Robert Havighurst, "Leisure Activities of the Middle-Aged," The American Journal of Sociology, LXIII (September, 1957), 152-62.

[20] Houle, op. cit., 15.

This evidence is not interpreted to be inconsistent with the findings of other studies which show that most adults attend public school and university adult education courses to obtain some occupation-related goal. The reason why no inconsistency exists is that the present study was concerned only with the phenomenon of persistent educative behavior, and not with participation in a single educative activity.

Since adult educators are aware of the goal-oriented purposes expressed by the participants in organized programs, the adult educators, being practical men, continue to perpetuate the idea pervading our society that there is an inalienable association between education and some practical end; and to disassociate the two would result in the partial, if not complete, devaluation of the educative experience.

Adult educators must begin to act as if they really believe that learning is a lifelong adventure by insuring that educative activities are designed to enable those who attend to experience basic satisfactions.

COLLEGE EXPERIENCE AND CONTINUING EDUCATION ACTIVITY

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In this investigation, an effort was made to determine the relationship between the continuing education of college alumni and the quality of their undergraduate collegiate education. This particular relationship was studied because it gave promise of shedding new light on the important and complex question of what forces and influences motivate adult learning experiences.

The principal hypothesis postulated that the extent and quality of continuing education of the college alumnus has a significant, positive relationship to the quality of his undergraduate collegiate experience.

This hypothesis arose from certain theoretical notions advanced by John Dewey in his book Experience and Education.[1] He cites "interaction" and "continuity" as the two criteria by which any educational experience can be judged. In discussing the continuity criterion, he suggests that the educational experience should provide the individual with attitudes and desires that will lead him to continue his learning experience. In this study, the continuity criterion of educational experience was tested by comparing the continuing education of two groups of college alumni to determine whether high levels of continuing education

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[1] John Dewey, Experience and Education (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1938).

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are associated with a superior quality of undergraduate collegiate education.

This research study also tested several other related—but less important—hypotheses concerning the continuing education of college alumni. One of these concerned the relationship between continuing education and the curriculum the individual pursued in college. The hypothesis suggested that graduates of liberal arts curricula would be more likely to engage in continuing education than would the graduates of professional or technical programs. It was believed that the depth and significance of the learning experience in liberal arts result in significantly higher levels of continuing education than would be the case with pre-professional programs.

Two other hypotheses were concerned with sex and age as factors in continuing education. One of these postulated that older alumni would be more active than younger alumni in educational programs; the other postulated that women would participate more than men in adult educational activities. These hypotheses stemmed from the belief that women graduates and older alumni as groups have more time available for educational pursuits than would the groups with which they were compared.

This study, then, attempted to relate the continuing education of college alumni to several different factors: age, sex, type of college curriculum studied, but—most importantly—the quality of the collegiate experience.

The Research Plan

The execution of the research plan involved three operations:

1) The selection of several samples of alumni that would serve to test the hypotheses of this study.
2) The measurement and evaluation of the continuing education of the college alumni in each of these samples.
3) The analysis and evaluation of the data.

In order to test the hypotheses advanced in this study, five groups of alumni were selected which possessed certain characteristics pertinent to this investigation. For testing the principal hypotheses of the study, two groups of alumni were chosen on the basis of their collegiate experience. The alumni in one of these groups were presumed to have had an "average" type of undergraduate college experience. The other group was made up of alumni whose undergraduate college experience was presumed to be superior to that of the average college alumnus. Selection of these two groups of alumni was based on the rating of American colleges and universities contained in Knapp and Greenbaum's experimental study of undergraduate education, The Younger American Scholar, His Collegiate Origins.[2]

The study involved ranking over 800 colleges and universities according to the number of "scholars" they had produced from 1946 to 1951. A scholar was defined as a person who had received a Ph.D. degree or some other mark of academic distinction. The ranking of colleges was based on the number of scholars graduated from that school per one thousand graduates; in this way small colleges were not placed at a numerical disadvantage. A group of colleges at the top of the Knapp-Greenbaum scale were designated as the "selected colleges" whose alumni were presumed to have had a superior quality of educational experience. A group of colleges that ranked near the average on the Knapp-Greenbaum scale were designated "average colleges" whose alumni were presumed to have had an average kind of collegiate experience. From these two groups of colleges, 327 alumni were selected. All of the alumni lived in a large metropolitan city with a wealth of adult education resources. For testing the main hypotheses, alumni from the two groups of colleges were selected in a random manner, but in such a way as to have an equal number of men and women in each sample. In addition, this random selection process was so arranged as to give a balanced distribution in ages between the two groups and permitted the samples to be divided equally into an older and a younger group.

In order that the two groups be as nearly alike as possible, they were matched according to the curriculum they pursued during college —liberal arts, or pre-professional. It was also possible to match some members of the two groups according to their occupations, since lawyers and physicians could be identified in advance.

With these two groups, it was possible to attempt to measure the influence of the experimental factor being studied—namely, the quality of the undergraduate collegiate experience. It was also possible to assess the influence of age and sex by comparing the men with the women, and the older with the younger alumni.

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[2] Knapp, Robert H. and Greenbaum, Joseph J., The Younger American Scholar: His Collegiate Origins (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953).

In order to test the influence of the college curriculum as a factor, it was necessary to select several groups of alumni who had been exposed to significantly different types of undergraduate curriculum study. One of these curriculum types was liberal arts. Since most of the alumni used to test the principal hypothesis had taken a liberal arts curriculum, a small group of these was selected to represent that curriculum. A second kind of curriculum is pre-professional, which prepares college students for a specific vocation. A special group of alumni were selected who had followed a pre-professional program of undergraduate study. The third contrasting type of curriculum is referred to here as the "combined curriculum" inasmuch as it combines features of both the liberal arts and the pre-professional curricula. A third group of alumni were selected from this combined background. These three groups of alumni were equated to each other in all relevant factors—including the kind of college—with the only difference being the type of curriculum they had followed during college.

After selection of the comparable groups of alumni, the next step was to measure the extent and the quality of the continuing education of each individual. This phase of the study involved the development of an instrument that would appraise with some accuracy the participation of alumni in educational activities.

After evaluating various measurement methods, it was decided to employ the written questionnaire. It was assumed that one could measure the educational life of an individual by determining the extent and character of his participation in those activities which reveal and exemplify his educative experience. Although many activities are potentially educational, it seemed reasonable to designate a small number of activities as comprising the range within which most continuing education takes place. Identifying this core of activities required accepting a working definition of adult education and an identification of those activities which normally result in personal outcomes that could be termed educational. Nine such activities were identified and a survey instrument was developed to assess the kind and the amount of participation given to the following educational activities: attending public lectures, visiting museums, viewing educational television, reading magazines, attending educational organizations, reading books, enrolling in adult classes, participating in study-discussion programs, and attending conferences and institutes. The survey instrument (see Appendix C) also queried the respondent on activities in areas other than the nine educational ones. This was done to mask the purpose of the study, and thereby to enhance the validity of the data gathered. After extensive pre-testing, the survey instrument was administered to the alumni selected for testing the various hypotheses. In order that the survey data be as representative as possible of the behavior of each group of alumni, personal calls were made by the investigator to collect survey instruments from those alumni who had not returned them by mail.

It is interesting to speculate as to how this survey data would be classified under Houle's typology. The "goal-oriented" person would probably be found attending classes, participating in conferences and institutes, and reading professional books and magazines; whereas the "learning-oriented" person would be occupied with reading for intellectual and cultural enjoyment, visiting museums, and attending classes and residential seminars devoted to the liberal arts. The "activity-oriented" person would likely be found in classes, conferences and institutes, study-discussion groups, and educational organizations where group associations would provide personal satisfaction.

Any single activity can simultaneously serve individuals who fall in two—or even all three—learning-orientations. Also, certain activities can satisfy more than one need for the individual. In discussing the relationship of this instrument to the adult-learning orientation, one must realize that most of the people surveyed in this study were not the intensive, self-educating kind of person selected for Houle's research.

The final phase of the research plan involved summarizing, analyzing, and evaluating the data on these survey instruments to determine the accuracy of the experimental hypotheses. In testing these hypotheses, the data were analyzed in two separate ways. One method involved comparing the various groups according to the amount of participation recorded by their alumni in each of the nine educational activities. The other method involved summing up the data contained in each survey instrument and using this measure of the totality of the individual's educational experience as a basis for classifying him into relative levels of activity ranging from high to low.

Much of the data obtained by the survey instrument could be analyzed by making direct numerical comparisons of the activity recorded by individuals in the various groups of alumni. In some instances, however, a qualitative evaluation of the survey information was required if meaningful comparisons were to be made. This kind of evaluation was employed on the magazines and books that the alumni had read. These reading materials were divided into quality levels; it was then possible to rank the various alumni according to the qualitative level of their reading experience.

The results of these comparisons between groups of alumni were then analyzed by the chi square distribution to determine if they were statistically significant.

Findings of the Study

Survey instruments were mailed to 327 college alumni, and of this number 290 were known to have reached the proper person. Nearly 88 per cent of these 290 survey instruments were returned by the respondent or were picked up by the investigator.

The alumni from the average colleges were compared with alumni from the selected colleges on the basis of their participation in nine separate educational activities. In five of these activities, the participation by the selected college alumni was greater than that of the average college alumni. These were book reading, visiting museums, attending public lectures, attending study discussion programs, and attending adult classes. In the case of book reading, the results were significant at the .004 level. In four of the nine activities, the groups were roughly equal to each other in the amount of participation. Tables 1, 2, and 3 report the participation of 193 college alumni in three selected educational activities—book reading, adult class attendance, and attendance at study-discussion programs. Distributions according to age and sex are also presented.

The alumni from both the selected colleges and the average colleges were ranked into quartiles according to the amount of their participation in all the activities. The results of this ranking are shown in Table 4. The proportion of alumni from each group in the highest two quartiles versus the proportion in the lowest two quartiles was used as a basis for determining the statistical significance of the results received. In

TABLE 1

FREQUENCY OF BOOK READING
(Number in each cell)

	More Than 2 Books a Month	2 Books a Month	1 Book a Month	4 or Fewer Books a Year
Selected college	17	25	18	37
Average college	10	9	28	49
Men	10	12	19	51
Women	17	22	27	35
Younger alumni	9	17	23	48
Older alumni	18	17	23	38

TABLE 2

ADULT CLASS ATTENDANCE AT TIME OF SURVEY
(Number in each cell)

	Attending 2 Classes	Attending 1 Class	Attending No Classes
Selected college alumni	9	10	78
Average college alumni	5	8	83
Men	4	9	79
Women	10	9	82
Younger alumni	6	9	82
Older alumni	8	9	79

TABLE 3

ATTENDANCE AT STUDY-DISCUSSION PROGRAMS
(Number in each cell)

	Currently Attending	Attended in the Last Year	Non-Attenders
Selected college	25	16	56
Average college	13	15	68
Men	16	9	67
Women	22	22	57
Younger alumni	19	10	68
Older alumni	19	21	56

TABLE 4

SUMMARY OF RANKINGS ON QUANTITATIVE DIMENSION

(Number in each cell)

	First (top) Quartile	Second Quartile	Third Quartile	Fourth Quartile
Selected college	28	28	18	23
Average college	21	21	29	25
Men	21	21	22	28
Women	28	28	25	20
Younger alumni	16	30	22	29
Older alumni	33	19	25	19

this measurement on the "quantitative dimension" of their educational experience, the results favoring the hypothesis had a probability of .052 under a null hypothesis of no difference between the groups.

The ranking of alumni according to the quality of their magazine reading is shown in Table 5.

TABLE 5

SUMMARY OF RANKINGS ON THE QUALITY OF MAGAZINE READING

(Number in each cell)

	First (top) Quartile	Second Quartile	Third Quartile	Fourth Quartile
Selected college	25	26	28	18
Average college	24	22	14	36
Men	18	26	19	29
Women	31	22	23	25
Younger alumni	21	27	17	32
Older alumni	28	21	25	22

In the comparison on the quality of magazine reading, the results showed considerably more average college alumni than selected college alumni in the lowest quartile. This result indicates that considerably more average college alumni than selected college alumni were not reading the quality rated magazines. These results were significant at the .02 level under a null hypothesis of no difference between the two groups.

In Table 6 the alumni are ranked according to the quality of their book reading. In the comparison on the quality of book reading, the selected college alumni ranked considerably higher than the average college alumni. The margin of difference favoring the selected college alumni was significant at the .01 level. These two measures of the qualitative dimension of continuing education gave results significantly in favor of the major hypothesis in this study.

TABLE 6

SUMMARY OF RANKINGS ON THE QUALITY OF BOOK READING

(Number in each cell)

	First (top) Quartile	Second Quartile	Third Quartile	Fourth Quartile
Selected college	23	14	13	47
Average college	20	5	8	63
Men	13	8	8	63
Women	30	11	13	47
Younger alumni	27	8	11	51
Older alumni	16	11	10	59

In testing the influence of college curriculum on continuing education, the alumni in the various groups were compared with each other on the basis of their total experience in all the nine educational activities. These comparisons were made on both the "quantitative" and the "qualitative" dimensions of their total experience.

Table 7 gives a summary of the results obtained by comparing the groups as to the quantity of their participation in educational activities. The respondents in all three curriculum groups were given scores on a quantitative dimensional scale and then ranked and divided into quartiles according to their scores. This comparison does not show the predicted superiority for the liberal arts curriculum group. In addition, the curriculum groups were compared on the basis of the quality of their book reading and the quality of their magazine reading. Here also, the results were negative or inconclusive.

TABLE 7

COMPARATIVE MEASUREMENT OF QUANTITY OF PARTICIPATION FOR GRADUATES FROM DIFFERENT CURRICULA

(Number in each cell)

Type of Curriculum	1st Quartile	2nd Quartile	3rd Quartile	4th Quartile
Liberal arts	11	8	7	7
Combined	4	9	7	9
Pre-professional	10	5	10	8

The results from testing the influence of age generally supported the hypothesis that the older alumni are more active than the younger. For six of the nine activities, the older alumni were more active as a group. These activities were attending lectures, reading magazines, visiting museums, attending educational organizations, reading books and attending study-discussion groups. For book reading, magazine reading, and attendance at public lectures, the margin was significant at the .05 or .01 level. For three of the nine activities, neither the older nor the younger group was more active.

When the older and younger alumni were ranked according to the total participation by each individual alumnus, the results showed more older alumni than younger alumni in the top quartile and fewer in the lowest quartile. In the comparison of older alumni with younger alumni on the quality of book and magazine reading, the results for the former favored the younger alumni while the results for the latter favored the older alumni. In neither case was the margin significant.

The predicted superiority of women graduates over men graduates was observed in nearly all of the tests. In six of the nine activities, the women were more active than the men, although only with book reading and visiting museums were the differences statistically significant. In only two activities—reading magazines and attending conferences and institutes—were men superior to women. In one activity, attending educational organizations, the difference between the two groups was quite small.

When women were compared with men on each individual's total educational activity, the women had a noticeable but not statistically significant margin over the men in the amount of their experience. In the comparison of men and women as to the quality of their reading, the women showed a noticeable edge over the men in magazine reading and a very significant superiority in book reading. And when the influence of college environment was compared for the subgroups of old and young men and women, it appeared to have its strongest effects for older men and women on the quantitative dimension, and for younger women on the qualitative dimensions (see Table 8). We have no explanation at present for these differences.

TABLE 8

COMPARISON OF ANALOGOUS SUB-GROUPS ON TWO DIMENSIONS OF EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE
(Number in each cell)

	Quantitative Dimension		Quality of Book Reading		Quality of Magazine Reading	
	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low
Men						
Younger selected college alumni	11	13	9	15	11	13
Younger average college alumni	7	15	7	15	11	11
Older selected college alumni	14	10	11	13	12	12
Older average college alumni	9	13	2	20	10	12
Women						
Younger selected college alumni	14	11	20	5	15	10
Younger average college alumni	14	12	10	16	11	15
Older selected college alumni	16	8	10	14	13	11
Older average college alumni	10	16	14	12	14	12

Conclusions

The results from testing the principal hypothesis of this study permit one to make these summarizing conclusions:

1. Both the quantitative and the qualitative dimensions of continuing education of college alumni are significantly related to a high quality of collegiate education.

2. The relationship of collegiate education to continuing education is most noticeable in those activities which involve a considerable commitment of time and energy. These activities include book reading, adult classes, and study-discussion groups. This relationship was considerably less evident in those activities which are less demanding of time and more consistent with the normal pattern of adult leisure-time activities—reading magazines, belonging to educational organizations, and viewing educational programs on television.

3. This study has produced some evidence for the belief that a close relationship exists between the quality of educational experience in college and the quality and extent of educational life that follows college. Although the principal hypothesis was not conclusively established, sufficient basis was found to justify further research relating to the question.

Certain conclusions can be drawn as to the influence of age and sex on the continuing education of college alumni.

1. The older alumni as a group were more actively involved in educational activities than were the younger.

2. When comparisons were made between older alumni and younger alumni on the quality of their educational experience, the results showed no consistent trend favoring either group.

3. The differences between the older alumni and the younger alumni were principally associated with the selected college alumni, and in particular with the women graduates.

4. Women as a group were more actively engaged in educational pursuits than men; they rated higher than men in nearly every comparison that was made.

5. In the measurements made on the quality of experience, the women ranked higher than the men by an impressive margin.

It was suggested earlier that the availability of leisure time was the most likely factor responsible for these results. Women as a group—and older women in particular—have more time and opportunity for educational pursuits than do men. Likewise, older alumni are quite often less occupied than younger alumni with establishing themselves in their homes and their jobs. In support of this explanation for these results, it should be noted that the older women graduates were often found to be the most active sub-group of alumni. It seems evident that college alumni engage in educational activities to the extent that their leisure time permits them to do so.

Implications of the Study

It is tempting—but perilous—to infer that a causal relationship is represented in this correlation between the collegiate educational experience and the continuing education that follows. It is possible to identify two factors that might have influenced these results.

One, a personal factor which reflects the intelligence, habit patterns, attitudes, and values of the individuals who attend the selected colleges, as distinguished from the individuals who attend the average college; and two, an environmental factor which is common to the selected colleges and includes such items as institutional standards and objectives, the cultural values that evolve from faculty and student interaction, and the quality of teaching in the institution. The interaction of the personal and environmental factors in the college situation presumably is responsible for the "quality of collegiate experience" referred to in this study.

Though it would have been valuable, it was not possible to equate in advance the personal factors of intelligence, social class, and other relevant factors for the individuals selected from each group. It is quite possible, therefore, that the individuals from the selected colleges were predisposed to continuing education than the individuals from the average colleges. On the other hand, the environmental influences that characterize the selected colleges might have been largely responsible for these results. The most probable explanation is that the action and the interaction of both these factors are mainly responsible for the character and extent of the educational life of college alumni, and therefore, the results obtained. The assessment of the relative importance of the personal factor and the environmental factor would be a logical and desirable research effort to follow this study.

The findings of this research have implications for the field of higher education. If it is true that certain kinds of collegiate education are productive of a high level of continuing education for the individual, institutions of higher learning committed to promoting continuing education for their alumni should examine and evaluate their educational practices in order to develop fully this important component of educational purpose. The relative success of some institutions in producing a fruitful educational experience should serve as a guide and a challenge to other institutions where this kind of achievement is lacking.

It was not possible within the scope of this investigation to make all the analyses of data that were potentially of interest to the adult educator. Some of the findings, however, do have significant and practical implications for this group. The participation of adults in such educational activities as book reading or attending classes may be deeply affected by their earlier school experiences in these activities.

From these results with college alumni, it might be expected that active levels of continuation education for some adults may be associated with a high quality of earlier adult educational experience. It is important, therefore, that great attention and care be given to the quality and excellence of programs planned and conducted for adults.

It seems imperative that any educational enterprise be planned, conducted, and evaluated with proper concern for the learning experience which follows the formal, planned periods of instruction. A great need exists for investigation and research into the relationship of continuing education to the processes and methods of the teaching-learning situation.

Relationship to the Houle Theory

Useful relationships between this study and Houle's theoretical propositions depend on our assuming that Houle's classification also applies to adults who are not intensively and extensively involved in continuing education. As Houle states, any such generalization from his study must await further research on continuing education among the adult population. We will assume that continuing education among these college alumni was a manifestation of one or more of the learning orientations identified by Houle.

Assuming that all three orientations were found among these college alumni, the major hypothesis of this study would probably refer most directly to those who were learning-oriented with the additional educational activity for the "selected college" alumni showing more of this orientation. Certainly the activities which most differentiate the groups seem consistent with this expectation (although of course the present data allows us only to infer the motive from the quality and degree of the various activities). We have no reason to suppose that the goal-oriented or the activity-oriented alumni would be more numerous among the selected college alumni; however, no evidence is available to support this contention.

Perhaps future research can determine with more certainty the educational and other antecedents of each of the Houle learning orientations.

POSTSCRIPT

Mr. Solomon, in his thoughtful introduction, calls the three studies here summarized "highly intriguing probes." And so they are. Each is a creative attempt to look closely at the men and women in our society who participate in continuing education and to discover how and why they do so. Surprisingly enough, these topics of investigation (central though they are to adult education) have had little previous study.

All three authors have moved forward vigorously into the unknown. Working separately and yet aware of what the others were doing, each has had both to refine his problem and to devise and perfect his instruments of measurement. Later investigators will study subtler problems with far more exact means, perhaps, but they will be able to do so only because they follow trails already blazed by Brown, Sheffield, Ingham, and several other investigators whose work was begun more or less simultaneously with theirs but has not yet been reported.

The Measurement of Participation

One problem with which all three have had to come to grips is the measurement of the extent to which individual adults are interested in learning. An innate generalized trait of "curiority" or "zest for inquiry" might possibly be established by a pencil-and-paper test or in some other way, but all three authors have chosen instead to try to measure a concern for self-education in terms of the extent to which individuals actually participate in various activities ordinarily thought to be educative. Brown did not derive a total score for each of the people he studied, but both Sheffield and Ingham did. Though the latter two used widely varying theories and techniques of measurement, the distribution of scores in the two studies was astonishingly similar. Apparently the desire to learn (as measured by an act or acts of participation) is a trait, like any other, on which mankind ranges itself in a fairly normal curve of distribution but one which has certain interesting variations.

One clear line of future investigation, therefore, would be a further refinement of the technique of measurement. On this particular frontier, many fascinating questions loom.

Can an interest in learning be measured in some deeper or more general way than by participation in activities?

If measurement is to be by participation, what activities should be included? Should these activities be chosen in terms of their effect on those who take part in them, their quality in terms of some set of standards, or the extent to which their accepted purpose is educational? In any case, is there a gradation of activities from those which are most educative to those which are least, ranging perhaps from "taking a class" to "going for a swim"? If there is such a gradation, how is it to be established? Can a few key activities serve as indices of the total pattern of participation? If so, what are they?

All three studies used the technique of self-reporting, and, therefore, some of the respondents were probably too modest or forgetful whereas others may have over-estimated their participation. Is self-reporting sufficiently accurate or could a better way of collecting data be found?

How can actual amount of participation be measured? Was Sheffield right in believing that people can report the precise number of books they have read, classes or conferences they have attended, or educational television shows they have watched? If so, over what period of time should such a self-report be made? How can the measurement of one activity (number of serious magazines read, for example) be made consistent or congruent with the measurement of another activity (such as the number of educational trips taken)?

On the other hand, was Ingham right in believing that a personal judgment of extent of participation could be made by the participants themselves? If so, does he have the right categories of judgment ("frequently," "occasionally," "not at all")? Do judgments on such matters vary so widely from one person to another that comparisons between them are difficult or impossible?

All of these questions are based solely on educational participation, but what if one takes a broader look at the total activities of individuals. How does educative activity relate to other kinds, such as work, recreation, or social life? In terms of the total amount of free time, what proportion is devoted to educative activity? Could interest in learning be measured by a ratio of educational activity to other kinds of activity? Could some other better way of measuring degree of educational involvement be found if it were placed in a larger context?

Is participation in educative activity a single trait, a cluster of similar traits (for example, a concern for reading, for taking classes, for participating in organizations, or for engaging in aesthetic experiences), or a general trait supplemented by special traits? If either of the latter possibilities is true, can a pattern of participation be identified for the individual? If so, could profiles of individuals be grouped?

Is it better to declare the purpose of the instrument of measurement (as Brown and Sheffield did) or mask it (as Ingham did)?

All three authors chose their subjects from a narrow segment of the population. Brown and Ingham restricted their samples to college graduates and Sheffield used people attending university-sponsored conferences. Would the method of measurement need to be substantially different if larger populations were studied?

Occupations differ from one another in the amount and kinds of further education they require of practitioners. One can try to draw a line between voluntary and required participation but that line is hard to determine with exactness, and it would be particularly hard in the case of a self-employed person such as a doctor or a lawyer. How can this problem of measurement be solved?

Once all of the foregoing questions have been answered, could a valid but very brief form of measurement be devised which could be widely used in counseling and research?

Factors Related to Participation

All three investigators have tried to discover factors related to participation. They have asked, for example, how continuing education is related to age, sex, level of formal education, quality of formal education, place of residence, motivation for study, socio-economic status, and patterns of leisure time satisfactions? Such factors are not necessarily the causes of participation—nor are they claimed to be—but they do help to fit this particular trait into meaningful patterns of individual and social life.

If a valid and reliable instrument measuring extent of participation can be developed, it will serve as a means of extending the knowledge of how learning activity is related to other aspects of adult life. Correlations might then be established between this trait and any other which could be measured. Is it related, for example, to intelligence, to patterns of personality, to personal values, to such biological functions as metabolic rate, or to occupational interests?

In sociology, psychology, and the precincts in between, many classifications of man and his behavior have been suggested and tested. Does the desire to learn relate to any of them? For example, rural sociologists have worked out a suggested pattern of adoption in which individuals may be classified as they range from innovators of new farming practices to non-adopters of them. Do these people vary in significant ways in terms of the extent to which they participate in adult educational activities?

Another area of investigation would be longitudinal in nature. Brown found that older alumni participate in educational activities more than do younger alumni. Is the difference really one of age or were the older alumni better educated or better selected than the younger alumni? More broadly, how does the whole pattern of participation in education shift as the adult grows older? Is this shift true for all adults or does it vary with such factors as social class and personality characteristics?

Professional schools today are deeply concerned about the continuing education of their graduates and perhaps liberal arts colleges will some day share this concern. A great deal of work has been done on how to select people who will be successful in college; grade-point averages in institutions of higher learning have been correlated with virtually every conceivable characteristic which the high school graduate might demonstrate. Would it not be a good idea to see whether some characteristics are evident even in high school which would be predictive of extension participation in adult education in later life? If so, these characteristics could be considered in admitting students to professional schools.

More broadly, could the study of educational participational patterns of adults be of value in creating instruments or methods of counseling which would help men and women understand themselves better and guide them toward more satisfying patterns of life?

Ultimately, perhaps, the amassed weight of evidence will permit the conclusion that certain factors are not merely associated with but actually cause an increase in participation. If we could discover why some people take part in education activities and others do not, we might find ways to increase the creativeness of the individual and the quality of life in his society.

Motives for Participation

Both Ingham and Sheffield asked not merely how much people participate in educational activities, but also why. In this respect, Ingham established some useful correlations; Sheffield both confirmed and extended an earlier hypothesis about basic orientations to continuing education.

Rewarding as these analyses are, they, like the other aspects of the studies summarized, raise a number of interesting questions for speculation.

Is there any basic personality theory to which the orientations to continued learning might be linked? These two studies, like their precursors, have dealt with the patterns of reasons which are given for participation, but the conclusions are wholly empirical and not as yet theoretical. Could one fit these data into some larger pattern, such as those suggested by Murray, Rokeach, Maslow, or other personality theorists?

Sheffield has confirmed the existence of certain basic orientations to learning. His study now needs further confirmation with samples drawn from other populations and with instruments which are so designed as to include other possible orientations. Many adults, for example, participate in education because of legal or social compulsion. Can this be an additional basic orientation to learning? Are there others?

Carrying the matter further, would it be useful to think of every individual as having a pattern of orientations rather than a single one? While it is undoubtedly true that some individuals are so deeply personal-goal-oriented or learning-oriented that they are virtually blind to any other value of education, other individuals are harder to place within a category. Perhaps one might, in fact, design a line of investigation which would eventually permit a profile to be drawn of every individual, assessing the relative degree to which he possesses each of the basic orientations.

Whatever approach to motivation is used will give rise to a number of theoretical and practical questions of great interest. What factors in the life of the individual are associated with his possession of an orientation or a profile of orientations? Does it change with age? Does it change as he moves into a new environment? Does the pattern of participation of an individual vary with his orientation or his profile of orientations? To what extent can training change orientations? How can and should instruction be modified by the awareness that every educational activity has students with markedly different patterns of orientation?

Questions of value are central to this whole field of investigation. What is the "best" orientation for an individual to have? Should that question be left for each individual to answer for himself? Should educators of adults be encouraged to promote their own types of orientation? Or could the case be made that the best pattern is the "mixed" one, where each man or woman concerned is aware of the full range of reasons for continued learning and is guided sometimes by one, sometimes by another? If this last contention is accepted, what kind of program should be undertaken to increase the number of adults who approach education with this flexible and subtly varied viewpoint?

Conclusion

The foregoing questions, numerous though they are, merely begin to suggest some of the fascinating possibilities opened up by the three studies here reported. Since research always follows the interest and concern of the investigator, and since so little is yet known of the total dimensions of participation in adult education, further exploration is as likely to follow other pathways as it is to go along the routes here suggested.

One important point should be remembered, however. The educator of adults is himself an adult. He has a pattern of participation, which is associated with certain factors in his life. He has, as well, a fundamental orientation or a pattern of orientations and, whether he wishes to do so or not, he is certain to foster his own beliefs and values. Therefore as the educator of adults finds out more and more about the people whom he serves, he should remember that he is discovering more and more about himself.

That fact, if no other, should whet his appetite to seek the answers to the questions suggested by the research of the Messrs. Brown, Sheffield, and Ingham.

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The University of Chicago

APPENDIX A – SHEFFIELD STUDY INSTRUMENTS

1. CONTINUING LEARNING ORIENTATION INDEX

Directions

Thinking back over your educational activities of the past year what reasons for participating seem to be the most meaningful for you?

The following pages have a column on the extreme left. You should disregard this column as it is for tabulating purposes only. Read each statement carefully and circle one of the numbers (5, very frequently important for me; 4, frequently important for me; 3, sometimes important for me; 2, seldom important for me; 1, never important for me) opposite each statement.

Example:

	Very Frequently Important For me	Frequently Important For Me	Sometimes Important For Me	Seldom Important For Me	Never Important For Me
			(circle the number that applies for each statement)		
To fill a deep, rich curiosity about life and ideas	5	④	3	2	1

If you feel that this statement is "Frequently Important For Me" circle ④ as indicated.

* * * * * * * * *

NUMBER:______________________________

TYPE OF ACTIVITY:___________________________

INSTITUTION:____

BEGIN HERE

	Very Frequently Important For Me	Frequently Important For Me	Sometimes Important For Me	Seldom Important For Me	Never Important For Me
		(circle the number that applies for each statement)			
To retrain for vocational changes	5	4	3	2	1
To be with friends and associates	5	4	3	2	1
To enjoy individually oriented activities	5	4	3	2	1
To satisfy an innate need for information and knowledge	5	4	3	2	1
To participate in activities that are completely new to me	5	4	3	2	1
To seek helpful insights about human relations	5	4	3	2	1
To pursue a path of intellectual curiosity	5	4	3	2	1
To exchange ideas and information	5	4	3	2	1
To develop creative expression (art, music, dance, speaking, etc.)	5	4	3	2	1
To associate with others of similar interests	5	4	3	2	1
To enjoy the satisfaction that comes from learning	5	4	3	2	1
To fulfill a need for personal associations and friendships	5	4	3	2	1
To compensate for unfavorable acceptance by associates	5	4	3	2	1
To introduce me to new ideas which I can further explore on my own	5	4	3	2	1
To fill an economic motivation	5	4	3	2	1

	Very Frequently Important For Me	Frequently Important For Me	Sometimes Important For Me	Seldom Important For Me	Never Important For Me
		(circle the number that applies for each statement)			
To fill an innate yearning for knowledge	5	4	3	2	1
To undertake group participations as a socially acceptable change from isolated individual study	5	4	3	2	1
To gain recognition among peers	5	4	3	2	1
To seek relief from boredom	5	4	3	2	1
To further expose an insatiably curious mind	5	4	3	2	1
To understand community problems	5	4	3	2	1
To make new friends	5	4	3	2	1
To secure professional advancement	5	4	3	2	1
To get the satisfaction of accomplishment	5	4	3	2	1
To experience the pleasure of meeting new people	5	4	3	2	1
To desire enlightenment	5	4	3	2	1
To satisfy a desire to be active	5	4	3	2	1
To satisfy intellectual curiosity	5	4	3	2	1
To clarify what I wish to be doing 5 or 10 years from now	5	4	3	2	1
To satisfy an inquiring mind	5	4	3	2	1
To become a more effective citizen	5	4	3	2	1
To become acquainted with congenial people	5	4	3	2	1
To enjoy the pleasure of discourse	5	4	3	2	1

	Very Frequently Important For Me	Frequently Important For Me	Sometimes Important For Me	Seldom Important For Me	Never Important For Me
		(circle the number that applies for each statement)			
To increase competence in employment	5	4	3	2	1
To study for its own sake	5	4	3	2	1
To overcome the frustration of day-to-day living	5	4	3	2	1
To find intellectual enrichment and mental stimulation	5	4	3	2	1
To learn better ways of doing things	5	4	3	2	1
To engage in the discussion of ideas	5	4	3	2	1
To believe that the activity provides respectability	5	4	3	2	1
To seek to contribute to the "common good"	5	4	3	2	1
To feel a social need to be a part of an accepted group	5	4	3	2	1
To satisfy a deep curiosity about life and ideas	5	4	3	2	1
To develop understanding	5	4	3	2	1
To use learning situations for social purposes	5	4	3	2	1
To desire to learn and to know	5	4	3	2	1
To prepare for service in the community	5	4	3	2	1
To participate in education as an end in itself	5	4	3	2	1
To feel a need to be accepted by others	5	4	3	2	1
To undertake education as a means to an end	5	4	3	2	1

	Very Frequently Important For Me	Frequently Important For Me	Sometimes Important For Me	Seldom Important For Me	Never Important For Me
		(circle the number that applies for each statement)			
To undertake an activity with a friend	5	4	3	2	1
To feel a need for more education	5	4	3	2	1
To enjoy socially oriented learning activities	5	4	3	2	1
To enjoy seeking knowledge	5	4	3	2	1
To use education as a means to higher status and prestige	5	4	3	2	1
To enjoy the association with other people	5	4	3	2	1
To up-grade occupational competency	5	4	3	2	1
To enjoy acquiring more knowledge	5	4	3	2	1

Please go back and underline the five statements in Part II which are most important for you.

Thank you for completing this questionnaire.

2. CONTINUING LEARNING INDEX

Introduction

The purpose of this study is to obtain information which will assist adult educators to organize more meaningful programs for adults.

This is not a test. The form you are being asked to fill out is simply a convenient way to gather data on adults as continuing learners. The information collected will be used for research purposes only. All responses are held in the strictest confidence. Your frank answers will be of great value. Please follow the directions carefully.

CONTINUING LEARNING ACTIVITIES SURVEY

Directions

Read each question carefully and circle the number of the answer that applies for you.

Example:

CURRENT RESIDENCE - by population:
(circle number that applies)

1. Under 10,000 population
2. 10,000-29,999 population
③ 30,000-49,999 population
4. 50,000-99,999 population
5. 100,000 population and above

If you currently reside in a community with a population from 30,000 to 49,999 circle ③ as your answer.

When a ______(blank)__________ follows a question please write in your answer.

Example:

State of Residence:______________(New York)____________________

If you live in the state of New York write in New York.

* * * * * * * *

NUMBER:______________________________

TYPE OF ACTIVITY:______________________________

INSTITUTION:____

BEGIN HERE

AGE:
(circle number that applies)

1. 20-34 years
2. 35-40 years
3. 41-50 years
4. 51-62 years
5. 63 years and above

SEX:
(circle number that applies)

1. Male
2. Female

CURRENT RESIDENCE - by population:
(circle number that applies)

1. Under 10,000 population
2. 10,000-29,999 population
3. 30,000-49,999 population
4. 50,000-99,999 population
5. 100,000 population and above

MARITAL STATUS:
(circle number that applies)

1. Single
2. Married
3. Separated
4. Widowed
5. Divorced

State of Residence:______________________________

NUMBER OF CHILDREN:
(circle number that applies)

0. None
1. One
2. Two
3. Three
4. Four
5. Five
6. Six
7. Seven
8. Eight or more

YOUR EDUCATION:
(circle highest number that applies)

1. Some grade school
2. Completed grade school
3. Some high school
4. Completed high school
5. Some college
6. Bachelor's Degree
7. Master's Degree
8. Doctor's Degree

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS:
(circle number that applies)

1. Professional & Technical
2. Manager & Proprietor
3. Clerical
4. Salesman
5. Skilled Worker & Laborer
6. Retired
7. Homemaker
8. Full-time Student

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION:
(circle number that applies)

1. None
2. Protestant
3. Catholic
4. Jewish
5. Latter-day Saint
6. Other____________________
(please write in)

INDICATE DEGREE OF PARTICIPATION IN EACH OF THE FOLLOWING ACTIVITIES:

(Circle the number that applies in each case. "This year" refers to the past twelve months. "Prior to this year" refers to the time prior to the past twelve months.)

READ ONE OR MORE "INTELLECTUAL" MAGAZINES SUCH AS: HARPER'S, SATURDAY REVIEW, NEW YORKER, PROFESSIONAL JOURNALS

Prior to this year (circle number that applies)	This year (circle number that applies)
1. Never	1. Never
2. 0-2 hours per week	2. 0-2 hours per week
3. 3-5 hours per week	3. 3-5 hours per week
4. 6-8 hours per week	4. 6-8 hours per week
5. Over 8 hours per week	5. Over 8 hours per week

READ ONE OR MORE POPULAR MAGAZINES SUCH AS: TIME, LIFE, SATURDAY EVENING POST, SPORTS ILLUSTRATED

Prior to this year (circle number that applies)	This year (circle number that applies)
1. Never	1. Never
2. 0-2 hours per week	2. 0-2 hours per week
3. 3-5 hours per week	3. 3-5 hours per week
4. 6-8 hours per week	4. 6-8 hours per week
5. Over 8 hours per week	5. Over 8 hours per week

TAKE COURSES AT SOME AGENCY OR INSTITUTION OF ADULT EDUCATION:

Prior to this year (circle number that applies)	This year (circle number that applies)
1. None	1. None
2. 1 course per year	2. 1 course
3. 2-3 courses per year	3. 2-3 courses
4. 4-5 courses per year	4. 4-5 courses
5. Over 5 courses per year	5. Over 5 courses

VISIT MUSEUMS

Prior to this year (circle number that applies)	This year (circle number that applies)
1. Never	1. Never
2. Once per year	2. Once
3. 2-3 times per year	3. 2-3 times
4. 4-5 times per year	4. 4-5 times
5. Over 5 times per year	5. Over 5 times

ATTEND MOVIES

Prior to this year (circle number that applies)	This year (circle number that applies)
1. Never	1. Never
2. 1-4 times per year	2. 1-4 times
3. 5-8 times per year	3. 5-8 times
4. 9-14 times per year	4. 9-14 times
5. Over 14 times per year	5. Over 14 times

ATTEND PUBLIC LECTURES

Prior to this year (circle number that applies)	This year (circle number that applies)
1. Never	1. Never
2. 1-3 times per year	2. 1-3 times
3. 4-6 times per year	3. 4-6 times
4. 7-9 times per year	4. 7-9 times
5. Over 9 times per year	5. Over 9 times

VISIT ART GALLERIES

Prior to this year (circle number that applies)	This year (circle number that applies)
1. Never	1. Never
2. 1-3 times per year	2. 1-3 times
3. 4-6 times per year	3. 4-6 times
4. 7-9 times per year	4. 7-9 times
5. Over 9 times per year	5. Over 9 times

WATCH PROGRAMS ON TV

Prior to this year (circle number that applies)	This year (circle number that applies)
1. Never	1. Never
2. 0-4 hours per week	2. 0-4 hours per week
3. 5-8 hours per week	3. 5-8 hours per week
4. 9-12 hours per week	4. 9-12 hours per week
5. Over 12 hours per week	5. Over 12 hours per week

ATTEND STAGE PLAYS

Prior to this year (circle number that applies)	This year (circle number that applies)
1. Never	1. Never
2. Once per year	2. Once
3. 2-4 times per year	3. 2-4 times
4. 5-7 times per year	4. 5-7 times
5. Over 7 times	5. Over 7 times

LISTEN TO PROGRAMS ON RADIO

Prior to this year (circle number that applies)	This year (circle number that applies)
1. Never	1. Never
2. 0-3 hours per week	2. 0-3 hours per week
3. 4-6 hours per week	3. 4-6 hours per week
4. 7-9 hours per week	4. 7-9 hours per week
5. Over 9 hours per week	5. Over 9 hours per week

ATTEND OPERAS

Prior to this year (circle number that applies)	This year (circle number that applies)
1. Never	1. Never
2. Once per year	2. Once
3. 2-4 times per year	3. 2-4 times
4. 5-7 times per year	4. 5-7 times
5. Over 7 times per year	5. Over 7 times

READ BOOKS

Prior to this year (circle number that applies)	This year (circle number that applies)
1. None	1. None
2. 1-4 books per year	2. 1-4 books
3. 5-8 books per year	3. 5-8 books
4. 9-12 books per year	4. 9-12 books
5. Over 12 books per year	5. Over 12 books

ATTEND BALLETS

Prior to this year (circle number that applies)	This year (circle number that applies)
1. Never	1. Never
2. Once per year	2. Once
3. 2-4 times per year	3. 2-4 times
4. 5-7 times per year	4. 5-7 times
5. Over 7 times	5. Over 7 times

MEET WITH DISCUSSION GROUPS SUCH AS "GREAT BOOKS" OR "WORLD POLITICS"

Prior to this year (circle number that applies)	This year (circle number that applies)
1. Never	1. Never
2. 1-2 times per month	2. 1-2 times per month
3. 3-4 times per month	3. 3-4 times per month
4. 5-6 times per month	4. 5-6 times per month
5. Over 6 times per month	5. Over 6 times per month

ATTEND SYMPHONIES, CONCERTS

Prior to this year (circle number that applies)	This year (circle number that applies)
1. Never	1. Never
2. Once per year	2. Once
3. 2-4 times per year	3. 2-4 times
4. 5-7 times per year	4. 5-7 times
5. Over 7 times per year	5. Over 7 times

LISTEN TO RECORDED MUSIC

Prior to this year (circle number that applies)	This year (circle number that applies)
1. Never	1. Never
2. 0-3 hours per week	2. 0-3 hours per week
3. 4-6 hours per week	3. 4-6 hours per week
4. 7-9 hours per week	4. 7-9 hours per week
5. Over 9 hours per week	5. Over 9 hours per week

TAKE TRIPS FOR EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES

Prior to this year (circle number that applies)	This year (circle number that applies)
1. None	1. None
2. 1 trip per year	2. 1 trip
3. 2 trips per year	3. 2 trips
4. 3 trips per year	4. 3 trips
5. Over 3 trips per year	5. Over 3 trips

TAKE CORRESPONDENCE COURSES

Prior to this year (circle number that applies)	This year (circle number that applies)
1. None	1. None
2. 1 course per year	2. 1 course
3. 2 courses per year	3. 2 courses
4. 3 courses per year	4. 3 courses
5. Over 3 courses per year	5. Over 3 courses

ATTEND CONFERENCES OR WORKSHOPS

Prior to this year (circle number that applies)	This year (circle number that applies)
1. None	1. None
2. 1 per year	2. 1
3. 2 per year	3. 2
4. 3 per year	4. 3
5. Over 3 per year	5. Over 3

BELONG TO ORGANIZATIONS, ASSOCIATIONS, AND CLUBS

Prior to this year (circle number that applies)	This year (circle number that applies)
1. No memberships	1. No memberships
2. 1-2 memberships	2. 1-2 memberships
3. 3-4 memberships	3. 3-4 memberships
4. 5-6 memberships	4. 5-6 memberships
5. Over 6 memberships	5. Over 6 memberships

ATTEND MEETINGS THAT ARE OF BUSINESS, PROFESSIONAL, POLITICAL, CIVIC, OR LABOR TYPE

Prior to this year (circle number that applies)	This year (circle number that applies)
1. None	1. None
2. 1-2 per month	2. 1-2 per month
3. 3-4 per month	3. 3-4 per month
4. 5-6 per month	4. 5-6 per month
5. Over 6 per month	5. Over 6 per month

GIVE PREPARED TALKS BEFORE GROUPS

Prior to this year (circle number that applies)	This year (circle number that applies)
1. None	1. None
2. 1-2 talks per year	2. 1-2 talks
3. 3-4 talks per year	3. 3-4 talks
4. 5-6 talks per year	4. 5-6 talks
5. Over 6 talks per year	5. Over 6 talks

HOW MANY BOOKS HAVE YOU READ DURING THE PAST FOUR MONTHS?

(circle number that applies)

0. None
1. 1-3 books
2. 4-6 books
3. 7-9 books
4. 10-12 books
5. 13-15 books
6. 16-18 books
7. Over 18 books

Please list the author and title of any books you have read recently:

Author	Title
______________________	______________________
______________________	______________________
______________________	______________________
______________________	______________________
______________________	______________________
______________________	______________________
______________________	______________________

Are you presently enrolled in any kind of a course other than this present activity? (Such as those sponsored by a university extension division, an evening college, a library, a Y.M.C.A., a public school, a community center, or Great Books Foundation.)

(circle number that applies)

1. No
2. Yes (If yes, in how many classes are you now enrolled?__________)

In how many other courses have you enrolled in the last three years?

(circle number that applies)

0. None
1. One course
2. Two courses
3. Three courses
4. Four courses
5. Five courses
6. Six courses
7. Seven courses
8. Eight courses or more

Please name these classes by title:

____

____

____

____

____

List any additional activities in which you participate during your leisure time.

APPENDIX B – INGHAM STUDY INSTRUMENT

B1. LEISURE SATISFACTIONS CHECK SHEET

Instructions

You are asked to read all of the statements on the accompanying Leisure Activity Index and to select those activities, no more than two, which you consider to be your favorite leisure activities. All 125 activities are to be considered as leisure activities.

Now turn to the Leisure Satisfactions Check Sheet. Write in the name of your favorite leisure activities in the spaces provided at the top of the Check Sheet. If you are unable to find your favorite leisure activities on the list provided simply write the name of the appropriate activities in the spaces provided.

On the Leisure Satisfaction Check Sheet you will find several statements which represent kinds of satisfactions which people might possibly get from their leisure activities. These statements are arranged in groups of six statements each. You are asked to read all six statements in each group and then to check that statement which best describes the kind of satisfaction you get from your favorite leisure activities. Keep in mind that you are being asked to check only those statements which describe the satisfactions you get from your favorite leisure activities. Do not check a statement simply because it describes one of the things that happens during, or as a result of, the activity. For example, a person who participates in amateur plays will constantly be with other people when he is engaging in this activity. However, it may well be that being with other people all of the time is not one of the reasons why participating in amateur plays is one of his favorite leisure activities. You are to check statement #6 in each group whenever you are unable to find among the preceding five statements in that group one which describes one of the satisfactions you derive from the leisure activity in question. Place your check mark (✓) in the space provided after each statement. Do this for each activity you list.

LEISURE SATISFACTIONS CHECK SHEET

(If you have only one favorite leisure activity ignore the remaining space.)

MY FAVORITE LEISURE ACTIVITIES ARE: (Write the name of each activity in the spaces to the right)	1. (ACTIVITY #1)	2. (ACTIVITY #2)
GROUP I This is one of my favorite leisure activities because:		
1. it gives me complete mental relaxation		
2. it gives me a good deal of mental relaxation		
3. it gives some mental relaxation		
4. it gives a trace of mental relaxation		
5. it gives no mental relaxation; provides stimulation, or tension		
6. none of the above statements describes why I like this activity		
GROUP II This is one of my favorite leisure activities because:		
1. it gives me a chance to be alone		
2. it gives me a chance to be alone most of the time and with other people only occasionally		
3. it gives me a chance to be alone part of the time and with people part of the time		
4. it gives me a chance to be with other people most of the time		
5. it gives me a chance to be with other people all of the time		
6. none of the above statements describes why I like this activity		

GROUP III

This is one of my favorite leisure activities because:

1. it helps me to be more successful in my work __________ __________
2. it helps me to be more successful in my work but it also gives a little satisfaction in itself __________ __________
3. it gives me a chance to do what other people in my occupation do __________ __________
4. it gives me a chance to do something that is a little different from my work and is satisfying in itself __________ __________
5. it gives me a chance to do something entirely different from my work __________ __________
6. none of the above statements describes why I like this activity __________ __________

GROUP IV

This is one of my favorite leisure activities because:

1. it gives me a chance to do something that is very simple and routine __________ __________
2. it gives me a chance to do something that is fairly simple and rarely requires innovation __________ __________
3. it gives me a chance to develop or maintain a fairly complex ability in something which I do fairly well, and requires some innovation __________ __________
4. it gives me a chance to develop or maintain a fairly complex ability in something at which I do very well, and requires some innovation; it also gives me a chance to vary the way I engage in the activity __________ __________
5. it gives me a chance to develop or maintain a complex ability and to produce new and

interesting results; either material or non-material __________ __________

6. none of the above statements describes why I like this activity __________ __________

GROUP V

This is one of my favorite leisure activities because:

1. it gives me a chance to make or produce something, or carry on an activity for a useful purpose or for the pleasure or welfare of others __________ __________
2. it gives me a chance to attain some goal beyond the activity, but I also get a little pleasure out of the activity itself __________ __________
3. it gives me a chance to attain some goal beyond the activity, but I also get some pleasure from the activity itself __________ __________
4. it gives me a chance to do something for my own pleasure, but I also am able to do a little something that is of use or pleasure to others __________ __________
5. it gives me a chance to do something for the sheer pleasure of it __________ __________
6. none of the above statements describes why I like this activity __________ __________

GROUP VI

This is one of my favorite leisure activities because:

1. it gives me a chance to stay at home and participate as a spectator __________ __________
2. it gives me a chance for a little physical activity __________ __________
3. it gives me a chance for some physical activity __________ __________
4. it gives me a chance for considerable physical activity __________ __________
5. it gives me a chance for maximum physical activity __________ __________

6. none of the above statements describes why I like this activity ____________ ____________

GROUP VII

This is one of my favorite leisure activities because:

1. it gives me a chance to kill time ____________ ____________
2. it gives me a chance to escape from unpleasantness or tension ____________ ____________
3. it gives me a chance for a little pleasure ____________ ____________
4. it gives me some pleasure ____________ ____________
5. it gives me a great deal of pleasure ____________ ____________
6. none of the above statements describes why I like this activity ____________ ____________

GROUP VIII

This is one of my favorite leisure activities because:

1. it gives me a chance to do what I think will be best for me ____________ ____________
2. it gives me a chance to do what I feel like doing ____________ ____________
3. it gives me a chance to do what is expected of me ____________ ____________
4. it gives me a chance to do something without having to make a choice ____________ ____________
5. it gives me a chance to do what my friends would like to do ____________ ____________
6. none of the above statements describes why I like this activity ____________ ____________

B2. LEISURE ACTIVITY INDEX

The following pages contain a number of brief statements describing many different kinds of leisure activities, or things you might possibly do outside of your regular work. You will find that you engage in some of these activities and not in others. You are to indicate the frequency with which you participate in these activities.

Directions

Print the following information in the appropriate spaces on the special answer sheet: your name, the date, your age, and sex. Go through the list of activities from beginning to end, indicating the extent to which you participated in each one during the past year. Your answers are to be made on the special answer sheet provided. Please make your marks heavy and black between the parallel lines provided for each answer as follows:

Mark the space under Column A if you have participated NOT AT ALL in the activity during the past year.

Mark the space under Column B if you have participated OCCASIONALLY in the activity during the past year.

Mark the space under Column C if you have participated FREQUENTLY in the activity during the past year.

Please use your own best judgment in defining the terms "frequently" and "occasionally." Since participation once in two months might be "frequent" participation for some activities, but for others would only be "occasional," it is impossible to give precise definitions to these terms.

1. Visited others in their home or apartment.
2. Made a systematic effort to improve my vocabulary.
3. Played bridge or other card game with others.
4. Read magazines such as "The Saturday Review of Literature," "Fortune" or "Harpers."
5. Visited an amusement park or carnival.
6. Studied financial or other reports of business or city institutions.
7. Went dancing.
8. Consulted an Encyclopedia, Gazetteer, World Almanac, or other reference source exclusive of a Dictionary.
9. Went on a group picnic.
10. Entered into a serious discussion at a social gathering.
11. Played bingo.
12. Took a course at a university or college.
13. Sampled opinion on a local issue via personal interview.
14. Visited an "Auto Show," "Better Homes Show," etc.

15. Played a musical instrument at home.
16. Read a foreign language newspaper.
17. Helped organize a group. club or organization, e.g. Girl Scouts, political action group, civic action committee.
18. Put together jig-saw puzzles.
19. Attended a convention.
20. Watched variety programs on TV.
21. Attended a lecture given by an expert.
22. Browsed through a book store.
23. Gave a prepared talk before a group.
24. Participated in an amateur play.
25. Attended a family reunion, community old home day, or similar event.
26. Visited a local museum or art gallery.
27. Read poetry.
28. Led community or group singing.
29. Read non-fiction books on social, political, or economic topics.
30. Refinished or redecorated a piece of furniture.
31. Went to a church supper.
32. Helped solicit funds for a charitable or civic cause.
33. Played chess or checkers.
34. Was a panel member at a forum discussion meeting.
35. Did some painting or other art work.
36. Played in a band or orchestra.
37. Read non-fictional material on religious topics.
38. Took a correspondence course.
39. Performed a leadership function in a group, e.g. officer in a club, chairman of a committee, member of an executive committee.
40. Helped care for another person.
41. Went to a county or state fair.
42. Listened to classical music.
43. Listened to news reports on TV or radio.
44. Read magazines such as "Life," "Saturday Evening Post," or "McCall's."
45. Became thoroughly absorbed in a work of art or music.
46. Wrote a poem, song, play, or story.
47. Went shopping for someone else.
48. Traveled out-of-town (20 miles or more) to visit relatives or friends.
49. Attended a conference or workshop.

50. Drew up plans for landscaping, remodeling, or building a house.
51. Took snapshots or photographs.
52. Read serious works that dealt with literature, art, or music.
53. Took a course in a public school adult education program.
54. Made a trip out-of-town to visit an art gallery or museum.
55. Chatted or visited with one or more of my neighbors.
56. Read books on history or philosophy.
57. Purchased books from a book club.
58. Dined with friends at a hotel or restaurant.
59. Obtained books from a public library.
60. Planned and pursued a reading program for myself.
61. Took a pleasure trip over-night or longer.
62. Read more than one daily newspaper.
63. Actively pursued some serious collection such as antiques, prints, paintings, stamps, etc.
64. Conducted personal experiments (e.g. growing of plants, rearing of fish, etc.) to learn directly about the effect of various factors.
65. Produced an article of craftwork (leather, metal, crocheting, knitting).
66. Talked socially over the telephone.
67. Read serious books that dealt with scientific topics.
68. Actively discussed issues as a member of a committee at a meeting.
69. Wrote a speech to be delivered or an article to be published.
70. Attended a high school or college reunion or home-coming.
71. Worked on a scrap book of clippings, articles, etc.
72. Asked questions as a member of an audience following a lecture or other presentation.
73. Read biographies.
74. Looked something up in an original source to determine what actually had been said rather than accept statements of others.
75. Expressed my opinion on an issue by writing a letter to the editor or some other official.
76. Learned a new craftwork technique.
77. Attended meetings of a hobby club or group.
78. Planned an auto trip by going over road maps.
79. Participated in a gymnasium class.
80. Visited a person who was sick or in the hospital.
81. Read magazines such as "True Story," "Modern Screen," or "Argosy."
82. Viewed serious films that portrayed historical or social themes or art forms.

83. Designed an article of clothing, furniture, etc.
84. Made and showed home movies.
85. Worked cross word or similar puzzles.
86. Carried a petition for some political or civic cause.
87. Listened to programs that dealt with the analysis of national or world events on TV or radio.
88. Visited a national historical landmark.
89. Attended current popular movies.
90. Did painting or carpentry work around the home.
91. Repaired some mechanical or electrical device.
92. Worked out ways to make household tasks less tedious.
93. Read current events periodicals such as "Time," "Newsweek," or "U.S. News and World Report."
94. Entered into discussion at a relatively small group meeting such as a class or lodge.
95. Took a course given by a community agency, e.g. Y.M.C.A., Red Cross, etc.
96. Regularly attended meetings of a fraternal, social, hobby, or recreational group.
97. Canned or otherwise preserved fruits or vegetables.
98. Voted in a primary or local election.
99. Took a quiz, word test, etc., in a magazine or newspaper.
100. Corresponded with a friend I had not seen in some time.
101. Participated in some type of volunteer social service work.
102. Helped another person with his or her personal problems.
103. Read light popular novels such as westerns, mysteries, adventure, or science fiction.
104. Read "heavier" more serious types of fiction such as "Marjorie Morningstar," "Dr. Zhivago," or "Gone With The Wind."
105. Watched sporting events on TV.
106. Helped coach or manage an athletic team.
107. Attended meetings of an organized discussion group, e.g., Great Books, American Heritage, etc.
108. Actively discussed an issue from the floor at a large meeting such as a town hall or a district meeting.
109. Regularly attended meetings of a business or professional, civic, political, or labor group.
110. Took friends on a tour of a city or section of the country which was new to them.
111. Engaged in winter sports.
112. Tried out new recipes.

113. Took a course offered by my employer to members of his organization.

114. Regularly attended meetings of a literary, art, or music group.

115. Traveled out-of-town (50 miles or more) to see a play, concert, or opera.

116. Thought about abstruse subjects such as the nature of reality, the place of man in the scheme of things, immortality of the soul, etc.

117. Read non-fiction books on health and dietary topics.

118. Attended local dramatic or musical productions.

119. Made a model of a boat, plane, train, etc.

120. Was active in an organization to promote the welfare of those with whom I work.

121. Engaged in summer sports.

122. Attended athletic contests.

123. Attended horse racing meets.

124. Listened to sporting events on radio.

125. Carried on a conversation with a stranger on a public conveyance.

APPENDIX C — BROWN STUDY INSTRUMENT

Survey No.
4-0

EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES SURVEY
for
COLLEGE GRADUATES

University of Colorado April 15, 1958

1. Please list below the colleges and universities you have attended and give the title of all degrees you have received. Also, please indicate the major field or department in which you specialized while earning each degree.

For example: University of Colorado, B.S. in Home Economics

Colleges Attended	Degree Received	Major Field or Department
1.________________	1.________________	1.________________
2.________________	2.________________	2.________________
3.________________	3.________________	3.________________

2. If you are employed, please give the title of your present position and indicate the approximate number of hours you work per week by checking one of the boxes below.

Title of position____________________________________

The work I do

☐ generally requires fewer than 40 hours of time per week
☐ usually requires 40 to 44 hours of time per week
☐ frequently requires more than 40 to 44 hours of time per week
☐ usually requires considerably more than 40 hours of time per week

3. If you are a homemaker, please check the box below which indicates the number of children in your home who are 16 years of age or under.

☐ None ☐ One ☐ Two ☐ Three ☐ Four or more

4. Several activities are listed below. Please indicate in general how often you participate in each one by following these directions:

Circle "F" after those activities in which you frequently engage
Circle "O" after those activities in which you occasionally engage
Circle "S" after those activities in which you seldom engage

1.	Attending movies	F	O	S
2.	Attending concerts and recitals	F	O	S
3.	Attending plays	F	O	S
4.	Visiting museums	F	O	S
5.	Visiting art exhibitions	F	O	S
6.	Attending public lectures	F	O	S
7.	Attending athletic and sporting events	F	O	S

5. Listed below are 25 TV programs currently scheduled on Denver TV stations. Please indicate how often you view each program by circling "R" after those programs you regularly watch, "O" after those you occasionally watch, "N" after those you never watch.

Steve Allen	R	O	N	Kraft Theater	R	O	N
Studio One	R	O	N	The Last Word	R	O	N
Wide, Wide World	R	O	N	Boxing	R	O	N
Phil Silvers	R	O	N	U.S. Steel Hour	R	O	N
Perry Como	R	O	N	Bold Journey	R	O	N
Omnibus	R	O	N	Climax	R	O	N
Twenty One	R	O	N	Playhouse 90	R	O	N
Danny Thomas	R	O	N	Great Challenge	R	O	N
Wisdom	R	O	N	Person to Person	R	O	N
Red Skelton	R	O	N	Tennessee Ernie	R	O	N
Gunsmoke	R	O	N	See It Now	R	O	N
Twentieth Century	R	O	N	Jack Benny	R	O	N
				Loretta Young	R	O	N

6. Do you regularly watch certain programs on TV station KRMA, channel 6?

__________Yes __________No

If you answered "yes," please list below the programs which you regularly watch.

1. ____________________ 3. ____________________

2. ____________________ 4. ____________________

7. Twenty well-known magazines are listed below. Please indicate the regularity with which you read each magazine by following these directions:

Circle "R" after those magazines you regularly read
Circle "O" after those magazines you occasionally read
Circle "N" after those magazines you never read

Please report on each magazine listed.

1. Reader's Digest R O N
2. Time R O N
3. Saturday Evening Post R O N
4. Life R O N
5. Look R O N
6. Better Homes and Gardens R O N
7. National Geographic R O N
8. The Reporter R O N
9. Ladies Home Journal R O N
10. Newsweek R O N
11. Harpers R O N
12. Coronet R O N
13. Confidential R O N
14. Consumer Union Reports R O N
15. The Saturday Review R O N
16. Scientific American R O N
17. McCall's Magazine R O N
18. The Atlantic R O N
19. Good Housekeeping R O N
20. Popular Science R O N

8. In the blank spaces below, please write in the names of those magazines or journals which you read that are not listed above—such as business and professional magazines. Indicate the regularity with which you read these publications by following the directions in question 7.

1.______________________________ R O N

2.______________________________ R O N

3.______________________________ R O N

4.______________________________ R O N

5.______________________________ R O N

9. Which magazine or journal—if any—do you read with the most interest and enjoyment?

____

10. You may have read a certain article within the last week or two which particularly interested you. If so, please identify the article below.

______________________ Title of Article
______________________ Title of Publication

11. Please list below the clubs, organizations or professional societies to which you now belong and indicate how actively you participate in each organization by checking the appropriate box after each listing.

	Regularly Attend	Occasionally Attend	Seldom Attend
1.________________________	☐	☐	☐
2.________________________	☐	☐	☐
3.________________________	☐	☐	☐
4.________________________	☐	☐	☐
5.________________________	☐	☐	☐

12. If you belong to any organization or societies which have a sizable and active educational program for their members, please list them below.

1.________________________ 3.________________________

2.________________________ 4.________________________

13. Please give below the title of the last book you read and indicate how recently you finished reading it.

Author and Title____

I finished reading it ________ within the last week

________ within the last month

________ over a month ago

14. Please give a general indication of how often you read a book by checking one of the blanks below.

________ one book a year

________ two books a year

________ four books a year

I usually read about ________ one book a month

________ two books a month

________ one book a week

________ two books a week

________ two books a week or more

15. Do you happen to be reading a book at the present time? _____ Yes

_____ No

If you answered "yes," please give the title and author of each book you are now reading.

Title____________________ Author____________________

Title____________________ Author____________________

16. There may be certain kinds of books you read the most often and with the greatest pleasure. Several types of books are listed below. If there is no category listed for the kind of reading you do, please write it on one of the blank spaces provided. Please check the blanks adjoining those types of books which you frequently read.

____ current fiction
____ historical novels
____ poetry
____ science
____ religion or philosophy
____ mystery and detective stories
____ arts & crafts
____ music
____ current affairs
____ biography
____ psychology or personality
____ literary classics
____ books dealing with your business or profession
____
____
____
____

17. If there are certain authors whose books you particularly enjoy reading, please give their names below.

1.____________________ 3.____________________
2.____________________ 4.____________________

18. Do you or your family belong to a book purchase club such as Book of the Month Club?

__________Yes __________No

If you answered "yes," please give the name of the club__________

19. Do you regularly attend a book review club? _______Yes _______No

20. Are you presently attending a class with other adults—such as an evening class in psychology, homemaking, or ceramics?

__________Yes __________No.

21. Please indicate below the title of any classes you are now attending:

Class Title__________________ Offered by__________________
Name of Agency

Class Title__________________ Offered by__________________
Name of Agency

22. Please give—to the best of your memory—the names of any other classes you have attended in the last year:

Class Title____________________ Offered by____________________
Name of Agency

Class Title____________________ Offered by____________________
Name of Agency

Class Title____________________ Offered by____________________
Name of Agency

How many classes—if any—did you participate in that are not listed above?____________

23. Are you a member of any discussion groups or study groups where people get together to discuss books they have read or lectures they have attended—such as Great Books groups, parent education groups or current affairs discussion groups?

__________Yes __________No

If you answered "yes," please give the name of the group

____

Have you belonged to any such groups within the last year? ____Yes
____No

Please give the name of the group if you answered "yes"

____

24. Universities, colleges, and certain professional groups often hold conferences or institutes of short duration (usually 2 or 3 days to a week) which are devoted to group study and discussion of a topic of common interest. Have you attended an educational program of this sort within the last year?

__________Yes __________No

If you answered "yes," please describe briefly the conference you attended

____

____

25. There may be certain cultural, educational, or avocational activities in which you engage that have been omitted in this survey. If so, please describe them briefly in the spaces below.

1. ____
2. ____
3. ____
4. ____

26. If you wished to request that a certain class be offered in Denver, do you know where to call to make the necessary arrangements?

__________Yes __________No

27. Are you as a college graduate provided with the kind of educational opportunities in the Denver area which invite your interest and participation?

__________Yes __________No __________Uncertain

If you answered "no," please indicate briefly the kinds of educational opportunities which would appeal to you.

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28. If you have any specific ideas or suggestions that would help colleges and universities serve better the educational interests of college alumni, we would appreciate your indicating them below.

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THE END

Thank You Very Much !!